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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 478



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7 December 1983

**CHINA REPORT**  
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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

AUSTRALIA'S HAWKE ON KAMPUCHEA, SRV, ASEAN

OW220735 Beijing XINHUA in English 0038 GMT 22 Nov 83

[Text] Bangkok, 21 November (XINHUA)--Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said today that Australia shared ASEAN's view that the total withdrawal of foreign troops from Kampuchea, the exercise of self-determination and national reconciliation are essential elements for the survival of an independent and sovereign Kampuchea.

Speaking at a banquet in his honor here this evening by Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon, Hawke said: "Australia shares with the ASEAN countries a strong sense of the need to maintain regional peace and stability." "Australia sees its own future as being indissolubly linked with the future of the region," he added.

He said that "it can only be to the detriment of the countries of this region that the Soviet Union is now establishing a foothold for its own political and military purposes in Indochina. The risks associated with this consolidation of Soviet interests in the region are considerable. Australia, strongly mindful of these risks, is concerned that continued isolation of Vietnam will only serve to exacerbate or heighten those risks."

He went on to say: "What Australia wants to see is the re-establishing of cooperative working relations between the countries of Indochina and other regional countries with an attendant diminution of great power involvement. Australia's interest in developing a relevant relationship with Vietnam is directed towards achieving this."

The Australian Prime Minister reiterated his government's condemnation of Vietnam's invasion and continued occupation of Kampuchea. "In line with this," he stressed, "Australia has been seeking to promote dialogue between the parties, a dialogue directed towards achieving Vietnamese withdrawal."

He stated: "Australia will continue to do what it can, as a country with close relations with the ASEAN nations, with the United States and with the ASEAN nations, with the United States and with China and enjoying useful links with Vietnam, to provide whatever assistance might be appropriate to the process of finding ways of achieving a durable settlement of the Kampuchean situation."

Thai Prime Minister Prem stressed in his speech that Kampuchea had the right to be independent and sovereign, free to pursue its own development and better life for its people in an environment of peace, stability and full respect for human rights. On Kampuchea, Australia has stood side by side with Thailand and the ASEAN countries," he added. [quotation marks as received]

He expressed deep appreciation for the assistance from Australia in the acceptance of more than 20,000 Indochinese refugees from Thailand.

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SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

AUSTRALIAN PRIME MINISTER VISITS THAILAND

Arrives in Bangkok 20 November

OW201454 Beijing XINHUA in English 1437 GMT 20 Nov 83

[Text] Bangkok, 20 November (XINHUA)--Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke declared upon his arrival at the airport here this afternoon, that his visit was aimed at promoting understanding and cooperation between the two countries and clarifying his government's position on the Kampuchean issue.

During his stay here on an official visit to Thailand, Hawke is scheduled to hold talks with his Thai counterpart Prem Tinsulanon, Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden, who accompanied Hawke on the visit, will hold talks with Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila.

The visit is expected to be dominated by talks concerning differences between Canberra and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) over Kampuchea.

A Thai-Australian co-finance agreement is expected to be signed between the two countries.

The Australian prime minister will also have chances to talk with leaders of three other ASEAN countries following his Bangkok visit. He is expected to talk with his counterparts from Singapore and Malaysia at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in New Delhi and will stop over in Indonesia on his way home.

Meets Thai Prime Minister

OW211605 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 21 Nov 83

[Text] Bangkok, 21 November (XINHUA)--Thai Prime Minister Prem Tinsulanon and Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke met here today to discuss their policy on Kampuchea and relations between Australia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Hawke arrived here yesterday. Both Thai Foreign Minister Sitthi Sawetsila and Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden attended the talks.

Sitthi told reporters that Prime Minister Prem and the Australian leader were in agreement that Vietnamese troops should be withdrawn from Kampuchea and that the Kampucheans be allowed the right of self-determination. However, Sitthi said, there were minor differences on the approach to the solution of the Kampuchean problem.

After the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea in December 1979, Australia ceased to recognize democratic Kampuchea and declared it would recognize neither the government of democratic Kampuchea nor the Heng Samrin regime installed by Vietnam in Phenom Penh.

ASEAN, comprising Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines and Indonesia, which is opposed to the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, has been upset by Australia's refusing to join them to co-sponsor the resolution in the U.N. General Assembly session this year calling for Vietnam to pull out of Kampuchea.

Since Hawke took office early this year, his government has indicated that it would not support the U.N.-recognized coalition government of democratic Kampuchea led by Samdech Norodom Sinhanouk.

Sitthi said that leaders of the two countries also discussed trade and investment between the two countries.

Hawke and his entourage is to leave here tomorrow for New Delhi to attend the meeting of the heads of commonwealth governments.

CSO: 4000/97

BRIEFS

**AFGHAN GUERRILLAS ATTACK SOVIET-KARMAL TROOPS**--Islamabad, 18 November (XINHUA)-- Afghan guerrillas have continued their attacks on the Soviet-Karmal troops and scored new victories in Nangarhar and Balkh Provinces since the beginning of this month. According to the Mujahid Press Agency (MPA), the guerrillas in Nangarhar Province shot down a Soviet MI-24 gunship at Barikot front, Nari area during a fierce fighting on 10 November. The Soviet Air Force was trying desperately to rescue a Soviet-Karmal unit encircled by the guerrillas for one week. During the engagement, 55 enemy soldiers were killed. In an attack on a post of the Karmal troops located between the Khaiwa and Darai-Noor villages in the same province on 5 November, the guerrillas wiped out 22 enemy soldiers including the commander of the post. They also captured seven Karmal militiamen, seized 13 machineguns and ten boxes of handgrenades. In Balkh Province bordering the Soviet Union, the guerrillas ambushed a Soviet convoy at Gormar area early this month. As a result, three Soviet tanks were destroyed and seven Karmal soldiers killed and 23 others surrendered to the guerrilla forces together with their arms. [Text] [OW182004 Beijing XINHUA in English 1650 GMT 18 Nov 83]

**AFGHAN FIGHTER PILOT DEFECTS**--Islamabad, 20 November (XINHUA)--A Pakistan official spokesman said today an Afghan fighter aircraft SU-7 landed at a place inside Pakistan this morning. The pilot of the aircraft, soon after the landing, surrendered to the local authorities. The pilot said out of his own will he defected from Afghanistan to demonstrate his strong resentment against the policies of the puppet Kabul regime. [Text] [OW201856 Beijing XINHUA in English 1847 GMT 20 Nov 83]

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## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

### TENSION IN CENTRAL AMERICA ANALYZED

Beijing SHIJIE ZHISHI [WORLD KNOWLEDGE] in Chinese No 17, 1 Sep 83 pp 2-4

[Article by Yi Ding [0001 0002]: "Flames of War in Central America Spread Rapidly"]

[Text] Since last year, the flames of war in Central America have spread rapidly. Civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala have continued to expand; under direct U.S. instigation, armed forces opposing the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front regime have carried out large-scale invasions; and the United States has also instigated border conflicts between Nicaragua and Honduras and Costa Rica, causing the original situation in Central America of war only being in El Salvador and Guatemala to develop into one where to varying degrees, five countries have been drawn into a whirlpool of war.

#### Armed Conflicts Grow in Intensity

The civil war in El Salvador is becoming hotter day by day. The extreme rightist Salvadoran forces which were overthrown by a coup in October 1979, took control of the legislature in constitutional elections in March 1982 and were restored. With vigorous U.S. support, the present Salvadoran Government has sent a fairly strong military force to suppress the guerrillas. This year the Salvadoran Government has carried out a U.S.-formulated "combined military and civilian plan of operations" (i.e., on one hand, strengthening suppression of the guerrillas and, on the other, bribing the masses of people with welfare measures. This is similar to the "village pacification plan" which the United States carried out in Vietnam.), has concentrated over 10,000 troops, and has launched an all-out offensive against guerrilla bases in five provinces. But the guerrillas have quickly developed for the past 2 years and more, and the scale of the Salvadoran civil war has expanded and spread far and wide.

In the struggle to oppose the Sandinista Liberation Front forces, the Nicaraguan government is breeding "regional warfare." Military forces opposing the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front government are in two places, the north and the south: A contingent in the north using surviving elements of former Somoza national guard troops as its base



has gathered together other anti-Nicaraguan forces and organized the Nicaraguan "Democratic Force" (FDN); a contingent in the south with Alfonso Robelo, Nicaraguan "Democratic Movement" leader and leading member of the former Nicaraguan National Rejuvenation Party committee, and Eden Pastora, former Sandinista Liberation Front government deputy defense minister and internationally known "Commander Zero" as the dominant factors, has united the former Sandinista Liberation Front allied comrades-in-arms "Widespread Front" and some members of the "Patriotic Front," and organized the Nicaraguan "Democratic Revolutionary Alliance" (ARDE). Under direct command of the U.S. CIA, the FDN has received the public support of the Honduran Government and military; the ARDE had received the secret protection of the Costa Rican Government, and recently has also received U.S. financial aid. The FDN has developed very quickly since it was established, and has developed from over 3,000 men in 1981 to the present 5-6,000 men (the United States declares it has 15,000 men). They frequently set out from bases established in Honduras and invade Nicaragua's borders, wrecking and harassing. In 1982 alone they made over 400 surprise attacks on Nicaragua. This year they have again organized large-scale invasions of Nicaragua, and from this April to June have invaded at least seven times. Using the pretext of "preventing secret transport of Nicaraguan arms to Salvadoran guerrillas," they have publicly announced their intention to overthrow or drive out the Sandino regime, and if unable to reach this goal quickly, they have asserted that they will separate, establish their own regime, form a country within a country and strive for international recognition. In the ARDE, Pastora still has a certain force of appeal to the Sandinista Liberation Front, and Robelo has a certain influence in private-enterprise circles in Nicaragua. Thus the Nicaraguan Government feels troubled.

Moreover the scale of the Honduras-Nicaragua border conflict is expanding. At present the two countries have massed on the borders thousands of troops which could fight at any time. Relations between Nicaragua and Costa Rica have also seriously deteriorated. This is a new trend appearing in Central America at present.

#### U.S. Military and Foreign Affairs Work Together as Follows

Reagan and his brain trust uphold the "domino" theory, and believe that the basic reason for the turmoil in Central America is that the Soviet Union and Cuba support leftist, antigovernment forces in Central America through Nicaragua. The present "focal point" of the turmoil is in El Salvador but the "root of the trouble" is in Nicaragua. The United States believes that it is necessary to eradicate this "root of the trouble" in Nicaragua, or else all the countries of Central America, even including Panama and Mexico, will fall one after the other and not be able to be picked up. The basic guiding ideology of Reagan's Central American policy is that "The best method of preventing the Soviet Union from intervening in the Latin American region through Cuba and wrecking the balance of forces is to take tough measures against Nicaragua." In addition, the United States will hold general elections next year, and if progress

cannot be made in Central America before then, then Reagan's promise on taking office to "prevent the proliferation of communism" will become an empty promise, not only affecting Reagan's reelection campaign, but also lowering the Republican Party's "prestige" and "injuring" U.S. "influence" in international affairs. This is also a reason for Reagan's intensely pursuing a tough policy. Based on this, the United States has adopted many measures on Central America. The major ones are concentrated in two areas:

**Energetically Aid Regimes Which Are Friendly to the United States by Eliminating Guerrillas:** Since 1981, the military aid which the United States has given to El Salvador and Honduras had doubled and redoubled. Military aid to El Salvador in 1981 was \$35 million, and this year will increase to \$136 million; military aid to Honduras has increased from 1981's \$14 million to this year's over \$100 million, still not including military bases built in Honduras and large expenditures of tens of millions of dollars to enlarge airports and harbors in many areas. Advanced fighter planes supplied to Honduras by the United States have enabled Honduras to have the strongest Air Force in Central America. A military school was also recently established in Honduras.

**Use All Means To Isolate and Attack Nicaragua:** Abolish all economic aid and prevent U.S.-controlled international banks and financial organizations from making loans to Nicaragua; blockade and embargo trade with Nicaragua, make a large-scale reduction in imports of Nicaraguan goods, and carry out economic strangulation. Recently the United States has abolished 88 percent of its imports of Nicaraguan sugar, causing Nicaraguan exports to suffer greatly. These economic measures have seriously affected recovery and development of Nicaragua's economy, and to the present it has not yet recovered to the previctory level. Politically, with the United States as matchmaker, in 1981 El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras strengthened their "joint defense security;" in January 1982, Costa Rica, Honduras and El Salvador established a Central American "Democratic Community;" and in October of the same year El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica established a "Society to Promote Peace and Democracy" with countries such as Colombia, Jamaica, Belize and the Dominican Republic, and issued the San Jose "Declaration of Peace and Democracy." These were all measures to surround and isolate Nicaragua. Militarily the United States has supported all anti-Sandinista Liberation Front forces in launching attacks on Nicaragua, and moreover has instigated Nicaragua's neighboring countries to create border clashes with and put pressure on her. The United States has also repeatedly threatened Nicaragua with military force, and for over a year has carried out seven large-scale naval and land exercises in the Caribbean Sea. Reagan has recently also decided to send 3 naval task forces (with a total of 19 warships) into the two-ocean area of Central America, has sent out a more than 5,000-man army to Honduras, has declared the need to carry out a half year of combined naval, land and air exercises, and has carried out "isolation" measures toward Nicaragua, i.e., a "limited blockade," wantonly threatening her. The tough military actions taken by the United States recently are a serious threat to the peace of Central America, meeting with the strong condemnation of Nicaragua and the opposition of other Latin American Countries.

The present nucleus of the Reagan government's Central American policy is to use military threat as the dominant factor, at the same time to supplement it with political and economic measures and a certain diplomatic posture, and to attempt to use these two measures to guarantee the position of El Salvador. The goal of the recent U.S. show of support for the "Contadora Proposals" is to avoid again falling into the isolated condition of the "Mazu Island War;" moreover strong domestic opposition forces have also forced Reagan to act cautiously. Reagan has recently sent special envoy Stone on three visits to the "Contadora Group" and to all Central American countries to show U.S. concern for the "Proposals." Judging from Stone's respective meetings with the Nicaraguan Government and Salvadoran guerrilla leaders, the United States has continued to refuse to negotiate with Nicaragua and has refused to recognize the Salvadoran guerrillas. But certain flexibilities of method do not show that the United States will compromise or make concessions.

Reagan also recently asked Kissinger to establish a Kissinger-headed bipartisan "Central American Policy Commission." This is necessary to clarify U.S. Central American policy, and to not stubbornly use military force, but to have long-range planning, and to basically solve problems in Central America. In this way Reagan wants to seek a unanimous bipartisan view in order to prevent or alleviate domestic resistance. But this "Kissinger Commission" is an organization which cannot meet the urgent situation, and it has not studied the present situation in Central America and Central American policy. Moreover it will not be able to formulate a preliminary program for long-range planning until next February. Therefore it will not affect Reagan's present tough policy. The U.S. CIA revealed long ago the U.S. plan to attempt to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government before the end of the year. The foreign press thinks that Reagan's idea is to strive to at least create a situation favorable to the United States before the end of the year, enabling negotiations to become a measure to force Nicaraguan and Salvadoran guerrillas to sign a "treaty under coercion."

#### Development Trends of the Central American Situation

This condition which has developed in Central America has been created by both U.S. and Soviet interference and also by "extreme difference between rich and poor in the economic structure and autocratic rule in the political structure" of the countries concerned. Internal elements plus external interference have created the present complicated situation in Central America. A task of top priority is to first eliminate foreign interference.

This January the foreign ministers of the four countries of Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and Mexico held a meeting at Panama's Contadora Island, made proposals on "eliminating foreign interference" and on "negotiations on solving the Central American conflict," issued an appeal for this, repeatedly mediated and finally urged the concerned countries and all hostile parties to sit down together. The proposals reflected the

intention of the Latin American countries to oppose the struggle of the two tyrants in Latin America and the daily rising "Latin Americanism" (i.e., Latin American countries acting independently and on their own initiative, uniting and cooperating to solve Latin American problems), and not only received the general support of Latin American countries, but were also widely welcomed by world opinion. All major countries in Western Europe and Socialist parties internationally expressed their appreciation. At present, it has built up a definite momentum, and the United States, the Soviet Union and all interested parties cannot ignore it.

In order to expand their influence in Central America, the Soviet Union and Cuba have always used the policy of aiding the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front regime and supporting guerrillas in all countries in Central America. This year it has been very successful. Faced with the aggressive U.S. Central American policy, the Soviet Union and Cuba neither want to give up their vested positions, nor do they want to have a showdown with the United States, which could possibly spur Nicaragua to make definite compromises or concessions. On one hand, the Soviet Union and Cuba praise the "Contadora Proposals," and, on the other, show support for Nicaragua. The Soviet Union has pledged to give "all essential" support to Nicaragua; this June Bayardo Arce, member of the Nicaraguan Sandinista Liberation Front national leadership committee and coordinating member of the political commission visited the Soviet Union, and recently Jaime Wheelock, Nicaraguan Minister of Land Reform and Agriculture visited the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union pledged without exception to give Nicaragua "all essential support" to deal with U.S. aggression." In accord with urgent needs to the Nicaraguan Government, more than 10 Soviet-bloc vessels have recently shipped a large number of military vehicles, helicopters and all sorts of goods and materials to Nicaragua. But the Soviet Union's economy is experiencing difficulties and cannot bear another burden like Cuba.

Cuba is very concerned about Nicaragua being surrounded, the endangering of Cuba's interests in Central America and so indicates "the possibilities of not eliminating the use of military aid to Nicaragua." But due to economic difficulties, Cuba does not wish to expand the situation, has repeatedly expressed its welcome of the "Contadora Proposals," has pointed out that if the United States removes its military advisors from Central America, Cuba will remove her own military advisors too, and has shown support for the proposal to stop the transport of weapons to any country in Central America. It is alleged that both the Soviet Union and Cuba have advised the Nicaraguan Government and the Salvadoran guerrillas to participate in negotiations so as to relax the situation.

Nicaragua is in a difficult situation, is anxious to seek stability through negotiations, and therefore her attitude is fairly conciliatory; for instance, she has now conceded her former support for bilateral talks and has agreed to multilateral talks. On problems such as removing foreign military advisors, stopping transport of weapons, and carrying out

"pluralistic government" and a "mixed economy," Nicaragua will possibly make certain concessions. But the estimated concessions will not be great.

Judging from the above situation, it is possible that the situation in Central America, propelled by the "Contadora Proposals" and through complicated negotiations by all sides, can reach certain agreements (for instance, in such things as stopping border conflicts, designating demilitarized zones and removing military advisors), and thus achieve a limited relaxation of tension. But it will be very hard for this relaxation to endure. The Honduran foreign minister said that "Nicaragua's system is incompatible with ours;" the Honduran national defense minister said that "it is impossible to live in harmony with a neighboring country such as Nicaragua." As to the civil wars in El Salvador and Guatemala, it will be even harder for both sides to become reconciled, for both sides believe that "guns are stronger than words." Based on analysis, to eliminate antigovernment forces and to overthrow existing regimes are fixed principles of both hostile parties, this basic contradiction cannot be solved by negotiations, and the situation in Central America will still continue to be turbulent.

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CSO: 4005/58



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### WENYI BAO EDITOR ON 'SOCIALIST' LITERATURE, ART

HK160744 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 10, 7 Oct 83 pp 6-12

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668]: "My Understanding of the Question Concerning the Banner of Socialist Literature and Art"--based on a speech delivered by the author at a conference]

[Text] As I studied the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," I was deeply conscious that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward a complete program for the building up and development of socialist literature and art.

Here, I wish to say a few words on the question of the socialist road, or banner, of literature and art which has been stressed over and over again by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his writings.

The salvos of 1 October 1949 not only proclaimed the birth of the PRC but ushered our revolutionary literature and art into a new era--the era of socialist literature and art. After a lapse of more than 30 years, we should have acquired a more or less unanimous and correct understanding of the meaning, definition, "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" content, and other basic issues of socialist literature and art. The fact is, due to historical as well as subjective and objective reasons, we were unable to come up with a clear and scientific exposition on this important question for a considerably long time. Of late, everyone in the country is seriously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and the vital question of "adhering to the socialist road"<sup>1</sup> put forward by Comrade Xiaoping on behalf of the party Central Committee, a question which every fighter of revolutionary literature and art must answer. I think this is of immediate and practical significance to literature and art. If we cannot achieve unity in thinking on this important question of principle, it will be difficult for us to adhere to the socialist orientation and ensure the sound development of socialist literature and art. Thus, giving a correct answer to the question of what is socialist literature and art is an important theoretical question which urgently requires thorough solution. I wish to talk briefly here about my superficial and perhaps imperfect understanding of this question.

When probing into the definition and content of socialist literature and art, we must first of all apply the world outlook and theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to view the issues. In other words, we must take into full consideration and continuity of historical development, that is, we must proceed from the viewpoint of historical materialism to correctly understand the inherent continuity manifested in the process of the development from the new literature and art of the "May Fourth" period to present-day socialist literature and art. On the other hand, we must also be soberly aware of the peculiarity and diversity revealed in the development of history in addition to the general character. We must realize that our present-day society (which covers literature and art) has developed from the society of yesterday. At the same time, we must also realize that the society we live in today has after all entered a new era of socialism. The masses have already become the masters of the country and the proletariat can justly apply the Marxist-Leninist world outlook to guide all our work, including our literature and art. In a nutshell, only when we correctly understand this continuity of historical development and the diversity between different stages can we give a more or less correct answer to questions regarding the meaning, definition, content, and so on socialist literature and art.

However, on this question we always see or hear different arguments from two sides.

One argument virtually ignores or denies the new characteristics of today's socialist literature and art. Some comrades only acknowledge the points in common between new literature and art after the "May Fourth" period and our socialist literature and art, but fail to see the distinction and diversity that actually exist between the two. To them, both are China's "new literature and art" and both are new literature and art with "realism" as the main trend. They are against adding such definitives as "revolutionary" or "socialist" before "realism." Some even doubt and raise objections to the revolutionary and realist principles and methods of creation, thinking that such literature and art do not seem to have survived and developed without interruption in our domain of literature and art. They think that the principle of "realism" itself conveys the meaning of truthfully, historically, and flexibly reflecting life. Therefore, they maintain that all we need is "realism" and that there is no need to put any definitive before it or to talk about revolutionary realism or the combination of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism. Some even argue that if definitives must be added, it would be better to have "socialist critical realism." This means we must fundamentally negate the historical development of realism, negate the characteristics and distinctions of realistic literature and art of different periods, and deny all progressive methods of creation other than realism. These arguments not only do not contribute to the development of socialist literature and art, but fail to make a detailed and scientific analysis of the theory of realism itself. If we formulate our principle for the development of socialist literature and art in accordance with such a viewpoint, we are bound to go astray and blur the orientation and vivid characteristics of socialist literature and art.



Contrary to this, some of our comrades naively chop up history and fail to see the continuity of historical development. Thus, they also fail to see the importance of upholding the tradition of revolutionary literature and art. In defining the scope of socialist literature and art, they tend to go to the other extreme, that is, they simplistically use the concepts of time and of historical stages to determine what is and what is not socialist literature and art. For example, some comrades think that literature and art after October 1949 are socialist in character, whereas literature and art before that time did not have any socialist elements. Some comrades have inappropriately exaggerated or isolated the tremendous role of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." They think that China's literature and art did not truly enter the revolutionary stage until after the "Talks" came out. Of course we must admit that some of the basic principles and fundamental issues clearly expounded by Comrade Mao Zedong in the "Talks" are also some of the important questions of principle which had been widely disputed in the decades since the "May Fourth" movement but on which common understanding had never been reached. It was not until after the "Talks" came out that distinctive, general, and scientific answers to these questions of principle were found. Thus, it is appropriate and not an exaggeration to say that the "Talks" marked the beginning of a new period of development and a new turning point in our literature and art. However, the tremendous role of the "Talks" should by no means cause us to chop off history and think that revolutionary new literature and art of revolutionary realistic literature and art did not begin until then. If we take a close look at the history of the development of literature and art in the 60 and more years since the "May Fourth" movement, it would not be difficult to discover that although the culture and ideology of the proletariat ran through the whole process of literary and art development over more than one-half century, some writers and writings that were in the intermediate stage had obviously emerged in the first three decades. It is not the attitude of historical materialism to blur or even negate this point. Therefore, we must not chop off history. If we describe socialist literature and art as something special with no connections whatsoever with the literature and art of any previous age, like something "dropped from the sky," then what attitude should we take toward communist and proletarian literature and art which in fact exist since the "Internationale" first came out?

It can thus be seen that in answering the most basic theoretical question of what is socialist literature and art, there are indeed some extremist arguments which are still open to debate in addition to muddled ideas. We must now shout in a loud and clear voice this slogan: Adhere to the road of socialist literature and art and hold high the banner of socialist literature and art. This is not merely a matter of how to better solve the question of making literature and art serve socialism--it is a question concerning the basic theory and fundamental road of the Marxist outlook on literature and art which we must straighten out in earnest. If we do not have a clear-cut stand on this very important issue, we may go astray and phenomena or outcome which are unfavorable to the sound development of socialist literature and art may appear. If we cannot correctly answer the most basic question of what is socialist literature and art, then upholding the socialist orientation and the socialist banner of literature and art will remain a mere phrase. Thus, it is an urgent and necessary task to study and explore this issue in a deep-going way in the light of reality.

How then should the content and scope of socialist literature and art be understood? In my opinion, it should at least show some of the following essential features.

First, socialist literature and art should be literature and art which has communist ideology as the ideological core and which uses the world outlook and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism--the most advanced ideology of mankind--to direct all its artistic practices.

As a form of social ideology, literature and art cannot hold itself aloof from society. It is closely and profoundly related to the economic base of society, to politics, which constitutes the superstructure, and to other forms of social ideology. These are inevitable links. At the same time, it has its own law of development and has never been a personal cause which has nothing to do with society. Gorki rightly pointed out: "Literature has never been the personal cause of Stendhal or Leo Tolstoy. It is always the cause of the times, of the state, and of the class."<sup>2</sup> Comrade Hu Yaobang emphatically pointed out in his "Report to the 12th CPC National Congress" that "communism is above all a movement." "This movement has brought about a socialist society, which is the first phase of communism." "Socialism is advancing steadily toward the goal of its higher phase--communism. This advance depends not only on the increase of material wealth but also on the steady growth of people's communist consciousness and revolutionary spirit."<sup>3</sup> Socialist literature and art should reflect this living social reality and make its unique contributions toward building socialist spiritual civilization. Thus, as a whole, it must take communist ideology as the core. This is what essentially distinguishes socialist literature and art from literature and art of all exploiting classes in history. It is also one of the major differences between literature and art of the socialist revolution period and literature and art of the new democratic revolution period. Although literature and art of the new democratic period also had communist ideology as the guiding ideology, it was still new democratic literature and art and not socialist literature and art as a whole. It is true that many writings at that time reflected communist ideas, but since the basic tasks of the revolution then was to oppose imperialism and feudalism, the principle and main content of literature and art in those days could not have been anything but new democratic. The situation is different now. Our revolution has already entered the socialist stage. In keeping with this, there must be new developments and new characteristics in the nature and content of literature and art. This means that our literature and art as a whole must take communist ideology as the core. This is the most basic hallmark of socialist literature and art. Otherwise, it would have been impossible to accomplish the glorious mission entrusted to literature and art by the times.

Second, our socialist literature and art must adhere to the principle of truthfully and historically reflecting life in actual changes and development. In terms of artistic principles and methods, revolutionary realism, or socialist realism, and the method of artistic creation which combines revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism are advocated.

The basic principles and methods which writers and artists must adhere to in reflecting real life through artistic images are inevitably and closely linked with the world outlook of writers and artists. However, world outlook is after all different from methods of artistic creation. Writers and artists are governed by many factors in their selection of a method of artistic creation that can best enable them to reflect the life they are most familiar with and understand and to express their own thoughts and feelings. Aside from the conditioning effect of the world outlook, factors like the writers' own experience, artistic accomplishment, temperament, and personality may also directly affect his choice and use of the method of creation. Thus, writers and artists should have full freedom to choose and use various methods of artistic creation as long as they have a common goal in mind. This is what we mean by artistic freedom. However, I think that socialist literature and art should take revolutionary realism, or socialist realism, as its most basic principle and method of artistic creation and that this method should play a leading role. Only when revolutionary realism is taken as the basis can we extensively, correctly, and profoundly reflect today's immensely rich social life. As for the "two-in-one" method of artistic creation, we should also put it to the test through active practice in order to produce works that can profoundly reflect real life and can show with foresight the lofty ideals and strong feelings of the writer and illuminate the people's road of advance. Of course, while actively advocating the method of revolutionary realism in artistic creation, we must be positive on the following two points: First, we must not regard revolutionary realism as an ossified dogma which will never change. All good methods of artistic creation will become ossified if they are not developed. All methods of artistic creation will cease to grow in strength and will fail if they cannot extensively draw nourishments to constantly enrich themselves. Even the best method will eventually lose its vitality if it cannot keep pace with the times. Thus, revolutionary realism must be adhered to and developed. Second, although we advocate revolutionary realism, we must not confine ourselves to this method of artistic creation and reject or underestimate other methods. On the question of artistic principle, it is a violation of the law of literary and artistic development to take realism as the only standardized method. All methods, techniques, and means of artistic creation that can help reflect social progress should be regarded as allies of revolutionary realistic literature and art. While actively advocating revolutionary realism, the diversification of artistic methods should also be encouraged because this will help socialist literature and art develop and flourish.

Some comrades suggest that we should "rationally reject realism." This in fact means abandoning realism for good. Some comrades put it even more bluntly and simply say that realism is outmoded and should be replaced with some kind of modernism based on Western art. These are obviously wrong ideas that are unacceptable to us. We must clarify the rights and wrongs on matters of theory and clearly see which way we are going.

Third, our socialist literature and art should be literature and art which permits the "blossoming of a hundred flowers." A wide spectrum of content, themes, genre, and styles should be allowed. Creative works that can in some way educate and influence the people with patriotic, collectivist, socialist, or communist ideas, or can meet the people's healthy cultural needs, mold their



temperament, and provide them with entertainment, should be seen as a part of socialist literature and art. It makes no difference whether they depict present-day life or the struggle and life of the people in ancient days.

Of course we are eager to see works brimming with revolutionary feelings, even revolutionary epics. We should portray the vast number of socialist new people and various types of typical images. No doubt works of this sort are what we should concentrate our efforts on and advocate in our artistic creation. However, we cannot expect every creative work, irrespective of genre and style, to reflect communist ideas in the same profound and forceful way and to portray socialist heroic images. Among the great number of artistic presentations, there are bound to be some creative works which do not directly reflect communist, socialist, or collectivist ideas. For instance, consider the traditional Chinese style of painting landscape and plants. If our predecessors could paint that way, we should also be able to choose this topic and form in our artistic creation. It would have been too simplistic to say that a painting is socialist in character just because it shows a little red flag or a few high voltage transmission lines and that one which shows neither of these does not belong to the category of socialist literature and art. For further illustration, let us look at creative works which depict life in history but really carry strong suggestions of realism. We can hardly say that they show communist ideas. What kind of creative works should we call them? In my opinion, as long as they are conducive to raising people's civilization, are produced by socialist revolutionary writers and artists, and can supply useful nourishment to people's thoughts and feelings, we should recognize them as part of socialist literature and art. I am against willfully labeling various phenomena in the field of literature and art or casually determining their nature because this will not do any good for the development of our literature and art or for the unity of our ranks of writers and artists. However, while adhering to the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom, we should also advocate something in particular. We should not allow creative works which do not show communist and socialist ideas, but are harmless, to become the mainstream of our literature and art. Furthermore, we must not tolerate the relegation of serious works that show elements of communist ideas to a secondary position, or their being pushed aside, oppressed, or nibbled away. However, we must admit that the phenomena discussed above do form a part of the whole great realm of our socialist literature and art. They may not have constituted the mainstream, but they are a stream, a wave, and a force all the same. They may not be primary, but they are often large in quantity and are indispensable to the people's spiritual life. We should not exclude these phenomena from the field of socialist literature and art.

Fourth, our socialist literature and art should be literature and art that is the most militant and critical. It should eulogize and praise fine things and ideas in life, eulogize the achievements of the new people, and eulogize the fine thoughts and feelings shown by the people in the course of construction. At the same time, it should also criticize, lash at, and mock at all decadent and evil things and ideas that obstruct the progress of history. These are two functions of socialist literature and art and neither can be neglected. We eulogize for the sake of promoting the growth of fine ideas and we criticize for the sake of removing the obstacles on our road of advance. Both are ultimately aimed at giving people confidence and strength. Viewed as a whole, however, I am afraid socialist literature and art should aim at directing people's main concern to the pursuit of a happy life and fine ideas and give people encouragement and strength.

Of course, the so-called eulogy and praise must be realistic, based on actual life, and truthful, and must not be false, exaggerated, and cheap. Similarly, the so-called criticism, lashing, and mockery also must not be unprincipled, blind, or even confounded on issues of right and wrong. One of the unshirkable tasks of our socialist literature and art today is to truthfully reflect the vigorous development and swiftly advance of our great times, profoundly show the superiority of communist ideas and the socialist system, and strive to portray images of socialist new people with communist ideas and moral integrity through the portrayal and depiction of vivid artistic images in order to educate and inspire the people to actively plunge into the heat of socialist revolution and construction and fight for the early realization of the grand modernization program. It is difficult to regard as truthful creative works which describe our times and society as gloomy, lifeless, hopeless, and without any future. The kind of indifference which has a habit of seeing only the seamy side of our life and turning a blind eye to the new atmosphere and the new things that are constantly growing in our life is not the proper state of mind of a socialist writer and artist. At the same time, our socialist literature and art should proceed from the long-term and fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people and wage a relentless struggle against all feudal and bourgeois ideas and all thoughts and deeds that are against the people and against socialism. This critical role is also indispensable to our literature and art. If this role is negated, our literature and art will be incomplete and weak. However, some comrades are now exaggerating this role as the primary or only function and are simplistically equating the critical role of socialist literature and art with that of critical realism, thus confusing the essential distinction between the two. Gorki said more than 50 years ago: "The cause of our men of letters is a difficult and complicated one. We cannot merely reduce it to an appeal to criticize old reality and expose its evil habits. The task of our men of letters is to study, reflect, depict, and thereby affirm the new reality. They must learn to see the sparks and flames of the future from the dying ashes of rotten garbage."<sup>4</sup> In other words, all serious writers should not merely content themselves with truthfully reflecting life. All good creative works not only must truthfully reflect the life and thoughts of the people, but must illuminate the direction of advance for the people through the ideas and images presented by the writers. Words to this effect had been said by Lu Xun many times. A fundamental characteristic of critical realism which emerged en masse in 19th century Europe was a basically skeptical and negative attitude toward the existing social system. The relationship between our socialist literature and art and the existing society is essentially different from this. Thus, critical realism and socialist literature and art cannot be put on a par as far as their critical role is concerned. It is obviously wrong to confuse one with the other. A great and serious writer with a noble spirit is invariably optimistic, upright, high-spirited, and farsighted in his outlook on life and in his realm of thought. Even when he is criticizing the old and lashing at the evil, he will try hard to observe and reflect society with a longing and a desire to pursue better things from the commanding height of the ideology of the times and from the height of historical development. He will not expose with indifference the seamy side of life from the [word indistinct] of social ideology. Thus, the critical role of socialist literature and art often goes hand in hand with its eulogizing and inspiring roles. Only by insisting on maintaining a dialectical unity between eulogy and exposure can we correctly reflect our new people and new times and profoundly show our new life today.

Fifth, our socialist literature and art should be literature and art which has distinctive Chinese features. Due to differences in respect of politics, economy, cultural traditions, mental state, custom and habits, and geographical traditions, mental state, custom and habits, and geographical environment, different nations have their own unique characteristics. Literary and artistic works that reflect the people's life should, from content to form, distinctly show these characteristics. This is a matter of course and has been fully proved by the history of the development of world literature. Thus, it is by no means some kind of out-of-the-ordinary idea made up by man to emphasize the national characteristics of socialist literature and art and advocate the use of unique artistic forms and methods to show and reflect real life so that our literary and artistic works will have a Chinese style and national character. This is an objective demand on literature and art from life itself. Socialist literature and art not only must reflect in its content the peoples life with national traits but must be loved by the masses and be acceptable to them. The habits of appreciation of the masses have been molded and cultivated by the cultural and national traditions of the masses through thousands of years. They are relatively stable but are by no means fixed. They are bound to change and develop along with changes in national life. Thus, we must carry forward and respect the literary and artistic characteristics inherent in our nation and at the same time continuously develop these characteristics. Today, in particular, with increasing contacts among nations and as cultural and artistic exchanges become more and more frequent and penetrating, mutual influence is inevitable. Thus, the nationalization of socialist literature and art should not reject what comes from the outside world. On the contrary, it is necessary to selectively assimilate all good content and forms of foreign literature and art, dissolve them and fuse them into the blood of our national literature and art. In this way, our national literature and art will be enriched. Of course, if we indiscriminately copy and imitate, it is a different story altogether. If we indiscriminately copy and imitate, we not only will lose our national characteristics and our national readers, but will never be able to rank among the literature and art of the world. This is but a matter of common sense. It is regrettable that some comrades see things differently on this issue. They blindly underrate, reject, and mock the characteristics of national literature and art, thinking they are vulgar, backward, primitive, and undesirable and should be abandoned. It seems to them that only modernist literature and art of the West is advanced and modernized and that our national socialist literature and art should be replaced by this. I think they are turning things upside down.

The above are some of my immature and superficial views on the basic question of what is socialist literature and art. I have listed several distinctive features, but they are definitely not all. It is possible that I have missed some very important points, that what I have said is not the most important, or even that some of my views are erroneous. My only hope is that this question will be further studied and looked into so that unanimous or near unanimous understanding can be reached.

When looking into the meaning and definition of socialist literature and art, there is no avoiding the dispute over the question of so-called modernism which is now extensively underway.



Some comrades think that this dispute is one that only concerns art. I do not look at it this way. I think that it is essentially a struggle that concerns road and banner. It is a struggle over whether or not we should follow the socialist road and uphold the socialist banner of literature and art. The core of this dispute lies in what road to follow and what banner to uphold.

I think that this dispute concerns the following questions: Should we critically and selectively assimilate and draw on the quintessence of foreign literature and art (including what is useful in Western modernism), or should we replace our socialist literature and art with modernist literature and art of the West? With the "four modernizations" now underway, should our literature and art follow the socialist road, or should it follow the modernist road of the West? Should we uphold the fine revolutionary tradition of our literature and art and develop it, or should we totally negate this tradition and go in for national nihilism? Should we constantly enrich, accumulate, and develop the experience of literature and art, or should we, in the name of "innovation," use the so-called techniques and means of the modernist literature and art of the West, which obviously go against artistic laws, to undermine artistic laws? These three questions are interrelated. If our literature and art can only follow the modernist road as some comrades suggested, how can we build socialism of the Chinese type?

We must fully take into account the necessity and seriousness of this dispute and must not think that all this is unnecessary. In actual fact, this dispute is unavoidable. In the Soviet Union, this dispute has been going on in the literary and artistic circles for decades and apparently they are still using socialist realism as their watchword after some reversals. I think the on-going debate should be actively pursued so that we can gradually grow wiser and become more practical in the process of overcoming mistakes. Of course, we must adopt a comradely attitude in this kind of discussion. "Everyone is equal before the truth." Only in this way will our points of view gradually come closer and eventually reach unanimity.

It is the common aspiration and sacred mission of our vast number of literary and artistic workers to unswervingly safeguard the clear-cut nature and purity of the socialist banner of literature and art, hold it even higher, and unswervingly follow the socialist road of literature and art. In order to truly achieve unanimous thinking and understanding, we must look more deeply into the following three questions and find a more all-round and profound answer. The first involves fully and profoundly solve the question of the relations of literature and art to the people and to the times. Only when we have achieved a unanimous view on this question can we unswervingly implement the aim of making literature and art serve socialism and the people. The second involves correctly understanding the relations of literature and art to life, upholding the view that real life is the only source of literature and art, and adhering to the principle of combining everyday practices with artistic practices. The third involves the correct handling of the relationship between developing socialist literature and art on the one hand and learning from and drawing on the heritage of Chinese and foreign literature and art and on the contemporary literature and art of other countries on the other. If we can solve these questions in a more all-round, clear-cut, and profound way, I think the differences between us and some comrades



can be gradually resolved. In order to achieve this, the urgent task now is to strengthen theoretical studies on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, particularly the study of Marxist-Leninist thoughts on literature and art and including the conscientious study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." Of course, we must also learn from the people, from life, and from all the fine literary and artistic heritage of mankind. This is a very necessary and important task for all commentators, theoreticians, writers, and artists.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Deng Xiaoping: "Adhere to the Four Basic Principles."
2. "On Literature and Others," see "On Literature" by Gorki, Renmin Wenxue Publishing House, 1978.
3. Hu Yaobang: "Create an All-Round New Situation in the Socialist Modernization," see "Collection of Documents on 12th CPC National Congress, Renmin Publishing House, 1982.
4. "The Aims of This Magazine," see "On Literature" by Gorki, Renmin Wenxue Publishing House, 1978.

CSO: 4005/163

## NORTHEAST REGION

### ADVISORY COMMISSION SUPPORTS CENTRAL DECISION

SK150428 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 14 Nov 83

[Text] According to our reporters, the Jilin Provincial Advisory Commission held its 2d plenary session from 13 to 14 November with the participation of 28 members. Prior to the session, all participating members attended the second enlarged plenary session of the fourth provincial CPC committee as observers. The session relayed the spirit of the second plenary session of the CPC Central Committee's Advisory Commission. Participating comrades unanimously supported the decision adopted by the CPC Central Committee in regard to party rectification and the important speeches given by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun. They also unanimously supported the arrangement made by the provincial CPC committee for implementing the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and pledged, in their capacities as ordinary party members, to actively join the drive for party rectification and to take the lead in preventing or weeding out spiritual pollution. They also pledged to make new contributions by first setting examples in launching the drive to doing a good job in rectifying the party in an overall way and to accelerating the pace of achieving a fundamental turn for the better in party style.

Prior to the conclusion of the session, Comrades Wang Daren, Yu Lin, and Song Jiehan delivered speeches on the work done in the past by the provincial advisory commission and on how to implement the spirit of the secondary plenary session of the CPC Central Committee's Advisory Commission and the second enlarged plenary session of the fourth provincial CPC committee.

The session also examined and approved the written report of the provincial advisory commission's Standing Committee which had been submitted to the second plenary session of the provincial advisory commission, and the draft provisions of work tasks and methods for the provincial advisory commission.

CSO: 4005/172

## NORTHEAST REGION

### HEILONGJIANG HOLDS SESSION ON SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

SK161046 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Excerpts] The Sixth Provincial People's Congress held the fourth Standing Committee session on 15 November. Zhang Xiangling, Standing Committee member of the provincial CPC committee and director of the propaganda department, gave a speech on persisting in the four fundamental principles and eliminating spiritual pollution. Lu Quang, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, explained the draft decisions on the time for electing deputies to county- and township-level people's congress and on the establishment of the committee in charge of the election work.

The session was presided over by Chen Yuanzhi, vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee. Attending the session were some vice chairmen of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, including Lu Quang, Wang Caoki, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Jinling, Wang Zhaozhi, and Wang Jun, and secretary-general Zhao Zhenhua. Attending the session as nonvoting delegates were Zhang Li, president of the provincial higher people's court, responsible persons of relevant departments under the provincial people's congress and the provincial government, and responsible persons of liaison organizations of all prefectural people's congresses, and the fourth provincial people's congress Standing Committee.

In his speech, Comrade Zhang Xianglin analyzed the situation of our province's ideological front. He said: Under the leadership of the provincial CPC committee, all departments of our province's ideological front have conscientiously implemented the plans of the party Central Committee and done a great deal of work and achieved remarkable results. The general situation of our ideological front is good. However, we sober-mindedly notice that a situation of considerably serious chaos and spiritual pollution exists on our province's ideological front. If we do not eliminate spiritual pollution or change the situation of ideological chaos, our four modernizations will be greatly jeopardized.

With regard to eliminating spiritual pollution, Comrade Zhang Xianglin put forward opinions. He said: First, we should understand the seriousness of current spiritual pollution on the ideological front, resolutely have a clear-cut stand, and stand in the forefront of the struggle against spiritual pollution. Second, we should persist in correct policies in order to oppose the corrosive ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and to eliminate spiritual pollution. Third, we should conscientiously eliminate spiritual pollution and enthusiastically conduct ideological, cultural, and educational activities.

CSO: 4005/172

## NORTHEAST REGION

### LIAONING COMMENTARY ON PARTY RECTIFICATION

SK140551 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1030 GMT 13 Nov 83

[Station commentary: "Make Good Preparations for Comprehensive Party Rectification"]

[Text] The decisions of the CPC Central Committee, adopted at the 2d Plenum of the 12th Party Central Committee, were formulated to conduct the party rectification in a comprehensive way from this winter. Under the new historical age, our party adopted this great step in order to capture a new, great victory. This is a great event, enthusiastically expected by the party and all people of the state.

In line with the demands of the decisions on party rectification, our province will rectify party organizations across the province in the next 3 years. The first phase of the party rectification work is from this winter to the end of next year, and leading bodies and party organizations of provincial-level organs should be rectified first.

The tasks for this party rectification are very arduous. The broad masses place high hopes on the party rectification work. Party organizations at all levels and the broad masses of party members should upgrade their understanding and ideologically make good preparations for party rectification. At present, most party members feel an upsurge of emotion at seeing the decisions of the CPC Central Committee on party rectification. They hold that the decisions of the CPC Central Committee conform to party spirit and public feeling. They consider that they have a grave responsibility and decide to enthusiastically engage in the party rectification work. However, some comrades hold that this party rectification work is specifically aimed at leading bodies and persons with problems and mistakes. So they think the work has nothing to do with them. Some retired party members wrongly hold that the work is aimed at persons holding posts. Some comrades who joined the party during the 10 years period of domestic turmoil, consider that they were born inopportunistly and are afraid of being the key targets of investigations. Therefore, they blame God and man. Some comrades who commit unhealthy practices and various mistakes, worry about being investigated and are heavyhearted. A few comrades regard [words indistinct] as a

hindrance to progress and consider themselves persistently correct and not in need of rectification. All these are misconceptions. This shows that they lack understanding about the significance of comprehensive party rectification, set forth in the decisions of the CPC Central Committee.

The CPC Central Committee urged that all party members enthusiastically engage in this party rectification without exception. This means that old party members as well as new ones, party members at posts as well as retired ones, and party members who have made mistakes as well as those who have not should strengthen their party spirit through party rectification without exception. Every party member and especially party-member cadres should jump out of his individual narrow circle. With the spirit of being a communist party member, proceeding from how to build the party into a strong core of leading socialist modernizational undertakings, and starting from contributing to and fighting for communist undertakings, we should understand the great significance of this party rectification, strengthen our sense of responsibility for this party rectification, and work together with the whole party to conduct the party rectification work well.

In line with the unified plan of the provincial CPC committee for rectifying the party organizations in groups and by stages, party organizations at all levels should adopt practical steps to comprehensively, conscientiously, and creatively implement the decisions of the CPC Central Committee.

The units which take up the party rectification work in the first stage should immediately investigate and study the situations of their party organizations and formulate a specific plan for the party rectification work. At the same time, we should have a clear understanding and pay full attention to studying relevant documents formulated by the party Central Committee. At the beginning of the party rectification work, we should attend to study. In the course of study, we should especially advocate the upgrading of party members' awareness. In line with the demands of the party institution, we should fulfill our obligations and be inspired with enthusiasm.

We believe that so long as the whole party makes up its mind, we will certainly achieve great success in party rectification.

CSO: 4005/172



## NORTHEAST REGION

### HEILONGJIANG RALLY TO ISSUE CERTIFICATES TO RETIRED CADRES

SK150916 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 83

[Excerpts] A provincial rally for issuing honorable certificates to veteran cadres who retired from the provincial-level posts was ceremoniously held in (Huaming) village on the afternoon of 14 November. Comrade Chen Lei presided over the rally and read the namelist of the veteran cadres who retired from the provincial-level posts and who would enjoy [words indistinct] treatment after their retirement. These veteran cadres are: Wang Yilun, former secretary of the provincial CPC committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; Xiao Yizhou, former secretary of the provincial CPC committee and vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; Ni Wei, former vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Liu Qian, former vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Wu Cheng, former vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Bai Qing, former vice chairman of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; Jin Langbai, former vice chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee; (Wang Guangwei), former deputy provincial governor; Liu Quizhi, former member of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; (Liu Yihong), former deputy director of the provincial discipline inspection commission; and (Li Chengwen), former deputy director of the provincial economic commission, 11 comrades in all.

On behalf of the State Council, leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee and the provincial people's government issued the PRC's honorable certificates for retired veteran cadres to Wang Yilun, Xiao Yizhou, Ni Wei, Liu Qian, Bai Qing, Jin Langbai, and (Li Chengwen) who attended today's rally.

On behalf of the retired veteran cadres, Wang Yilun spoke with feeling at the rally. He said: Although I am retired, I will give play to my remaining efforts, continue to take the revolutionary road with actual practices, and continue to show concern over the party's cause and the interests of the state and the people. I will, within my power, concentrate on study, participate in some social activities, keep close ties with the masses, conduct some social investigations, write some reminiscences, participate in the drive of party rectification, build up my physical strength, and make new contributions to the party and the people.

Li Lian, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, also spoke at the rally. In his speech, he praised retired veteran cadres for making great contributions to revolution and construction and for setting an example in observing the system on cadre retirement. He said: Over the past year or so, these veteran cadres at the provincial level have applied for retirement one after another and have been released from their leading posts with the approval of the responsible central department. This indicates once again that our veteran comrades are most selfless, think highly of the public and overall welfare, give no thought to personal promotion or retreat, spearhead the reform of cadre system, and set an example in the cooperation of old and new and the succession of the new to the old.

Attending the rally were leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial advisory commission, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee, the provincial people's government, the provincial CPPCC committee, and the provincial discipline inspection commission, including Li Lian, Chen Lei, Chen Junsheng, Zhang Xiangling, Wang Fei, Li Genshen, Jing Bowen, Wang Yusheng, Zhu Dianming, Chen Jianfei, Wang Luming, Xie Yunqing, Sun Xiqi, Chen Yuanzhi, Lu Guang, Zhang Ruilin, Wang Pili, Wang Zhaozhi, An Zhendong, Li Jianbai, (Gao Heng), Wang Weizhi, Fu Shiyang, and Zhang Lin.

CSO: 4005/172



## NORTHWEST REGION

### XINJIANG FORMS GROUP TO CHECK FOR PORNOGRAPHY

HK161512 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 14 Nov 83

[Text] Yesterday, the regional pornographic audio and video tapes and obscene reading materials check-up leading group issued circular No 1, demanding that all places take resolute measures to inspect and handle all pornographic audio and video tapes and obscene reading materials to eliminate spiritual pollution.

The circular says: With a view to implementing the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and eliminating spiritual pollution, the regional CPC Committee has instructed that the discipline inspection committee of the regional CPC committee should take the lead and that responsible comrades of the organization department and the propaganda department of the regional CPC committee, the political and legal committee, the CPC committees of organs at the regional level, the broadcasting and television department, the public security department, the production and construction corps, and the Urumqi City CPC Committee should be organized into the regional pornographic audio and video tapes and obscene reading materials check-up leading group, which held its first conference on 12 November.

The conference pointed out: Checking up on pornographic audio and video tapes and obscene reading materials is an important content of implementing the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. CPC committees at all levels must pay great attention to this work and each must assign one of their members to take charge of this work. A crack work group must also be organized. The key point of this inspection is pornographic video and audio tapes and obscene books, newspapers, journals, fiction books, pictures, photos, and handwritten copies. All units must hold conferences to explain the important significance of unfolding this work of all personnel, including family members and young adults. The mass organizations, such as trade unions, CYL, and women's federations, must vigorously coordinate this work with the units.

The conference emphatically pointed out: To do this work well, we must mainly enhance our understanding and conscientiously and voluntarily eliminate articles which disseminate spiritual pollution. We must also advocate that we must supervise each other. The conference reiterated the instruction of the regional CPC committee. Nobody is allowed to hinder the unfolding of this work. So far as party members are concerned, this is a discipline. If they do not observe it, they will meet with criticism or disciplinary action will be taken against them. In serious cases, they will be punished in accordance with the law.

The post of the head of the regional pornographic audio and video tapes and reading materials check-up leading group will be held by Qi Chengde, secretary of the discipline inspection committee of the regional CPC committee; and the post of the deputy head of the group will be held by (Ding Ke), deputy director of the propaganda department of the regional CPC committee. (Ai Xin), associate editor of the regional broadcasting and television department; and Fu Wen, Standing Committee member of the regional CPC committee, attended the conference and spoke.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### COMMENTATOR URGES RESISTING SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

HK031430 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 3 Nov 83

[Text] Today, XINJIANG RIBAO carried on page 1 a commentator's article entitled: "Resolutely Eliminate Spiritual Pollution."

The article says: The ideological front is an extremely important front. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the guidance of the party's line, principles, and policies, the ideological front has achieved very great results. The main current of the whole ideological front is good and the achievements are the main factor. However, many serious problems of spiritual pollution still exist. The influence of and corruption by capitalist decadent ideology and the ideology related to the survival of feudalism have increased in some aspects. Some people have run counter to the demands set on them by the era and the people. They have used their unhealthy ideology, unhealthy works, and unhealthy performances to pollute people's souls. So far as Xinjiang is concerned, the serious problem of spiritual pollution have likewise existed on the ideological front. A great deal of our attention must be drawn to this.

The article points out: The core of spiritual pollution is capitalist ideology. Whatever its form, its substance is to disseminate various forms of decadent and moribund ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting class, to disseminate the feelings of no confidence in socialism, the communist cause, and the communist party. Its abominable functions are to shake the four basic principles, to corrupt people's souls and wills, to encourage individualism, anarchism, and the ideology of ultra-democracy, and to cause low spirits, laxity, dissension, and discord. Its great harm is able to bring calamity to the country and the people. Therefore, the problem of resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution is a practical and serious political problem. In the face of this important problem, we must take a resolute and clear-cut stand and justly and forcefully wage a resolute struggle against various forms of spiritual pollution.

The article says: In resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution, so far as leaders at all levels and political organs are concerned, it is necessary first to see the seriousness and harm of spiritual pollution and to see the importance and urgency of resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution. We must seriously eliminate the state of weakness and laxity in ideological and political work. We must begin with strengthening political and ideological work and take effective measures to eliminate and curb spiritual pollution. So far as the fighters on the

ideological front are concerned, in accordance with Comrade Deng Xiaoping's requirements, they must really become the engineers of the soul of mankind. We must hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the banner of socialism, must conscientiously adhere to the four basic principles, and must endeavor to build socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as the core. In the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution, communist party members must bravely step forward, must take up the ideological weapon, and give play to their vanguard and exemplary role. The cadres and the masses of all nationalities must constantly heighten their political, ideological, and theoretic levels, must enhance their awareness of communism, must strengthen their ability to resist spiritual pollution, and must train themselves into a new generation which have ideals, morality, and culture and abide by discipline.

The article says: The main method for resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution is to conduct criticism and self-criticism, something consistently created by our party. We must resolutely criticize mistakes in terms of principle. We must take a clear-cut stand and must not hesitate to do so. However, criticism should be entirely reasonable. We must practically, realistically, and scientifically analyze mistakes. We must by no means repeat the past so-called criticism which was simple, one-sided, and too rude. We must not repeat the past method of carrying out cruel struggle and striking merciless blows.

In conclusion, the article says: The four basic principles are the foundation for building the party and the country and are the basic guarantee to achieve the four modernizations. Adhering to and upholding the four basic principles is a long-term struggle. Only by adhering to the four basic principles and constantly eliminating spiritual pollution can we guarantee the smooth progress of socialist modernization. Under the guidance of the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, we must immediately go into action, vigorously plunge into the battle, and win a victory in the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution on the ideological front.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHAANXI MEETING DISCUSSES SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

HK160600 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Text] According to SHAANXI RIBAO, the provincial CPC committee yesterday held at the hall of the military district a rally of responsible comrades of provincial level organs. At the meeting, Comrade (Zhang De), chairman of the provincial advisory committee, transmitted the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. Comrade Zeng Shenda, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, presided over the meeting. In transmitting the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session, Comrade (Zheng De) touched on two problems: 1) Doing a good job of party rectification; and 2) eliminating spiritual pollution. At present, the central task is to properly study documents. He said that things cannot be carried too far in party rectification. This is a vital problem determining whether the current party rectification effort can be handled properly. Concerning whether things are carried too far in party rectification, we must at the very outset take care of two links. One calls for devoting serious efforts to study, doing a good job of studying documents, seriously unfolding criticism and self-criticism, combining rectification with correction, and achieving unified thinking, an improved work style, and strengthened discipline. Another calls for unhesitatingly expelling from the party "three kinds of people" and other elements who oppose and do harm to the party, rooting out the source of evil, and attaining the aim of purifying the organization.

On the problem of eliminating spiritual pollution, Comrade (Zhang De) chiefly dealt with some manifestations in our province. He also pointed out that we must correct these mistakes.

CSO: 4005/162



## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHAANXI RIBAO ON STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

HK150615 Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 28 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

["Special" commentator's article: "The Whole Party Must Strengthen Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] The 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee worked out the "Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Party Rectification." Comrade Deng Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun also gave important speeches at the session. This has provided a clearcut direction for our strengthening of the building of the party and strengthening of ideological and political work. To seriously uphold and put on a solid basis the spirit of the 2d plenary session, we must combine the start of an overall party rectification with further efforts in strengthening ideological and political work and with thoroughly eliminating and resolutely resisting spiritual pollution on the ideological front.

In the past few years, party organizations at all levels and the masses of cadres and party members have done a large amount of remarkable work in the overall implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies and have initially created a new situation in building socialist material and spiritual civilization. Experience shows that the line, general and specific policies followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee are entirely correct. Through a series of work programs, the party's work style style has shown an initial improvement. The party's ideological and political work is being continuously strengthened. The maintenance of the thinking of the masses of cadres is healthy. But on the ideological front, there still exist various erroneous "leftist" and right mistakes. The problem now confronting us is the rectification of the right trend of weakness and lethargy. Under new historical conditions, due to the growing corrosive effects of decadent capitalist thinking and remnant feudalism thinking, what we have done in our work and struggle to resist and overcome such corrosion has still not been effective enough. Therefore, bourgeois thinking of various kinds and other exploiting-class ideas have quite seriously contaminated us ideologically. There has been a new development in the trend toward liberalization. The phenomenon of "placing money above everything" and putting spiritual food on a commercial basis has spread to urban and rural areas. There has been a strange development of religious forces. Feudalist and superstitious activities in certain areas have been rather rampant. Certain ugly phenomena of the old society that had long



disappeared have made a comeback. Some leadership organs and leadership cadres have shown a weak concept concerning the enemy and are lethargic politically and ideologically. Despite these shocking problems, many party committees have been busy with administrative business all day without putting ideological and political work on the agenda as an important item. They have not attached enough importance to the building up of basic-level party organizations, so that many basic-level organizations have been weak and lethargic, lacking or even showing no fighting power. The party's system for ideological and political work has not been really made perfect. The whole party's guideline for doing ideological and political work has not been put on a very solid basis. If these problems are not seriously solved, we cannot win new victories in socialist modernization. Therefore, party committees at all levels must start with the solution of the problem of awareness and seriously carry out, on a solid basis, various measures for exercising leadership and organizational measures, so that "the whole party can strengthen political and ideological work."

Seriously Uphold and Carry Out the Strategic Guideline of Building the Two Civilizations at the Same Time, Correctly Handle the Relationship Between Economic Construction as the Focal Point and Ideological Construction as the Commander, and Put Ideological and Political Work in an Important Position

In his report at the 12th CPC National Congress, Hu Yaobang pointed out: "While seeking to build a high degree of material civilization, we must strive to build a high degree of material civilization, we must strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization." At present, to carry out this strategic guideline for socialist construction on a solid basis, leadership comrades at all levels must solve problems in regard to awareness.

We must overcome the viewpoint which calls for replacement of spiritual civilization construction with material civilization construction and which equates economic construction with ideological and political work. Under the new historical conditions, after a shift of emphasis in the party's work, ideological and political work has remained the lifeline of all economic work. It still plays the role of commander and guarantor in economic work. It ensures the socialist direction for economic construction, guarantees the socialist nature of economic sectors and enterprises, and ensures the thorough implementation of the party's line and general and specific policies. If we neglect the building of spiritual civilization with communist thinking as its core and relax our efforts in the ideological and political field, we will cause people to concentrate their attention only on the building of material civilization and even only on the pursuit of material interests. As things develop, our society will forget its ideals and goals, losing the capacity to resist the invasion of various decadent factors and slipping down the road to abnormal development and degeneration. The goal of building socialism with Chinese features--socialism with socialist spiritual civilization as its important feature--thus also basically will not be realizable.

We must overcome the viewpoint which puts the building of material civilization in opposition to the building of spiritual civilization and which regards the building of spiritual civilization as a factor likely to cause the neglect of economic construction as a focal point. The two civilizations are interdependent, each looking to the other as its object. Socialist spiritual

civilization plays a tremendous role in boosting the building of material civilization. Large hosts of facts obtained through investigation show that any area or unit that attaches importance to spiritual civilization construction and that performs well in ideological and political work shows unity in people's thinking and a healthy trend, makes rapid progress in its production and work, and achieves outstanding results in building material civilization. Any area or unit that takes the building of spiritual civilization lightly and shows weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is inevitably a place where people show disunity in thinking, where unhealthy trends prevail, where production and work suffer from interference and disruption, and where the building of material civilization is adversely affected. Therefore, the matter of building spiritual civilization and correctly carrying out ideological and political work will not affect or interfere with economic construction as a focal point. Instead, it will ensure and stimulate socialist modernization with economic construction as its focus.

We must overcome the viewpoint marked by the worry that the practice of division of work between the party and government will cause the loss of the party committee's great power and weaken party leadership. Party leadership chiefly means political, ideological, and organizational leadership. With the division of work between the party and government, large amounts of routine administrative work and vocational work are undertaken by government and vocational departments. Thus, the party committee will have time and energy with which to ponder important matters, discuss major issues, and tackle important things, to study and formulate lines and general and specific policies for economic construction and various other tasks, and to properly handle the party's organizational work and propaganda and educational work. This better helps preventing and overcoming bureaucratism, arousing positive factors in various fields, and giving fuller play to the leading role of the party in economic construction and political life.

Historical experiences and actual conditions tell us that party committees at all levels must, from the high plane of theory, politics, and practice, realize the great significance and role of the building of socialist spiritual civilization and the strengthening of work on the ideological front, must put such work on the agenda of the party committee and of the No 1 man of the party committee as an important item, and must really carry out the strategic guideline of handling the two civilizations at the same time, and insist on building material civilization on the one hand and building spiritual civilization on the other, and stimulating economic development through powerful ideological and political work. In future, we must treat how we handle ideological and political work and build spiritual civilization as an important condition for determining the good or bad performance of a party organization at a given level, of a department, of a [word indistinct], and of individual cadres. We must establish a responsibility system for ideological and political work, citing those people with outstanding performances in ideological and political work and sternly criticizing those showing weakness and lethargy in the handling of ideological and political work.

**Reform the Leadership System, Seriously Practice the Division of Work Between the Party and Government, and Resolutely Overcome the Phenomenon of the Party Committee Monopolizing Administrative Work and the Party Not Controlling the Party**

The division of work between the party and government is an important reform in the leadership system of the state and the party. This is of great significance in strengthening and improving party leadership and is also an important measure that must be taken in strengthening work on the ideological front.

First, we must ideologically raise cadres' awareness of the problem of the division of work between the party and government. We must organize all party and government cadres, and especially party committee leadership members, to seriously study and deeply understand the report of the 12th National Party Congress, the new party constitution, and expositions in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" on reforming the leadership system of the party and the state and to link reality with penetrating discussion. We must guide everyone to see the importance of the division of work between the party and government in light of the historical mission assumed by our party, to see the necessity of the division of work between the party and government in light of historical experiences and lessons, to see the urgency of the division of work between the party and government in light of the current state of party construction and ideological and political work, and to check the possibilities of dividing work between the party and government in light of the advanced typical examples of local and other areas and all favorable conditions that now exist. Thus, everyone can consciously overcome and rectify such mistaken ideas as, "with the party and government devoted to modernization, there is no division of work," "showing an unwillingness to divide work, because to do so is to divide power," "lacking the courage to divide work, for fear that after the division of work, the exercise of command may suffer," "with so few people doing so many things, there can be no division of work," and so on and so forth.

Second, we must seek a rational division of work between the party and government organizationally. We must resolutely change the previous situation where there was an excessive amount of overlapping and extra work shared by the party and government, and power was overconcentrated in the party committee, with the party taking the place of government. The best way is for the leading responsible comrades of the party committee not to concurrently occupy themselves with government work. The party and government must respectively establish their own effective work systems, from top to bottom, and refrain from setting up joint organs or joint offices and from resorting to such practices as joining forces in controlling things, sharing responsibilities for given tasks or areas, and so forth. The Standing Committee of the party committee must also not share the control of vocational work that is the business of the government, and should only occupy itself with the work that is within the party committee's province and the work of the various departments of the party committee and of mass and CYL organizations.

Third, we must scientifically define the limits of the functions and powers of the party and the government in regard to the tasks to be done. We must thoroughly change the previous practice of the party committee monopolizing administrative work and failing to seriously control the party. The party committee's main business is to control the line and general and specific policies, the party, cadres, ideological and political work, and the matter of studying and deciding on major tasks and measures in various periods. Other routine administrative and vocational work is undertaken by the government and vocational departments. To enable the government to combine its work with power and responsibility, the party committee must not make too frequent, abnormal, and often fastidious interventions. Work that falls within the province of the government must be discussed, decided upon, and announced by the government in proper documents. The party committee must refrain from also issuing instructions and making decisions. A conference held by government at a higher level generally does not call for participation by party secretaries. The party committee and the government at the same level must act in coordination, dividing work between them but not breaking up as one family. They must, however, have fewer meetings with everything fixed and fewer jointly issued official communications sent to other organizations.

Fourth, we must ensure the party committee's devotion of its main energies to its given duties, as far as the system is concerned. "Party committees at all levels must constantly discuss and study the party's major policies and guidelines on the cause of socialist construction, the problem of thinking and of education among cadres, party members, and the masses, the problem of leanings and of discipline among cadres, and the problem of improvement and development involving the party organization." They must also regularly discuss and study the work of the various departments of the party committee and mass and CYL organizations. Leading members of party committees at all levels must devote one-third of their time every year to investigating and studying the ideological state of the masses outside the party and to solving discovered problems in time. The party committee must, at least once a year, call a meeting to analyze the ideological situation and to study how to improve work on the ideological front. An ideological and political work conference, with the participation of the leading responsible persons of the party organizations under the party committee, must be called once a year to review, sum up, and arrange in an overall manner the programs for party building and ideological and political work.

The key to success in dividing work between the party and government lies with the higher levels and with the chief responsible comrades of the party committee. We must, from top to bottom, work from one level to another and have one level lead another. Chief responsible comrades of party committees in particular must firmly foster the idea of "party leadership chiefly meaning political, ideological, and organizational leadership." They must devote their main energies to properly handling work that must be taken up by the party organization, as prescribed in the party constitution, in order to play an exemplary role in firmly carrying out the principle of dividing work between the party and government and strengthening party leadership on the ideological front.



## Increase the Fighting Power of Ideological and Political Work and Overcome the State of Weakness and Lethargy

One of the causes of weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is the lack of contents with given aims in educational programs and failure to concentrate on solving vital problems in real life. The contents of ideological education programs call for education in the need to uphold the four basic principles and the party's line followed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, education in collectivism, patriotism, socialism, and communism, education in ideals, moral principles, the legal system, and discipline, education in the situation at home and abroad and the relevant general and specific policies of the party and government, education in modern scientific, cultural, and technical knowledge, and so forth. Most important of all are education in the need to uphold the four basic principles and the party's line followed since the 3d plenary session and education in patriotism and communism. At present, hosts of ideological problems in real life causing the greatest harm are exactly reflected in this field. Our ideological education is exactly the weakest spot in this area. Therefore, to increase the fighting power of ideological and political work, we must lay hold of the main realistic problems of thinking that appear in our various actual tasks at present, use various tried and true educational means to seriously seek a solution, and try to change the phenomenon of separating ideological work from economic work and other actual tasks.

Another cause of weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is the lack of unity in the thinking of the leadership. Some comrades have laid one-sided emphasis on fighting the right trend. Some other comrades have put one-sided stress on fighting the "leftist" trend. The result is that given the lack of uniformity in ideological awareness and in steps, the fighting power of ideological and political work suffers. The actual situation prevailing now is that both kinds of erroneous trend exist on the ideological front. The problem concerning the right is relatively prominent. We must constantly analyze ideological trends, unify awareness, persistently carry out struggle on two fronts, and resolutely rectify all erroneous "leftist" and right trends. We must proceed from reality, fight any erroneous trend that appears, and guard against neglecting a second kind of erroneous trend while fighting a first kind of erroneous trend.

The third cause of weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is the lack of vigor on the part of certain cadres and their lack of the courage to control, to cope with, and to face erroneous ideas and unhealthy trends. Because of many complicated historical, social and realistic factors, this phenomenon is of a universal nature and seriously weakens the party's fighting power in ideological and political work. Therefore, cadres at all levels, and political work cadres in particular, must overcome selfish and personal considerations, turn "fear" into "courage," dare to talk about party spirit, about principles, and about truth, and dare to be vanguards on the political, ideological, and cultural front and to lead and organize the masses in fighting various hostile forces disruptive to socialism, as well as economic crimes and criminal behavior, in fighting decadent bourgeois ideas and all behavior causing

spiritual pollution, and in fighting various erroneous trends inside and outside the party. At present, they must especially raise a clear-cut banner and righteously wage a resolute struggle against various erroneous right trends, including bourgeois liberalization. Concerning problems of ideological awareness, they must dare to work actively, to set forth facts, to reason things out, to convince others through reasoning by means of democratic discussion and criticism and self-criticism, and to overcome erroneous ideas with correct ideas.

The fourth cause of weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is failure to combine ideological education with the strict enforcement of law and discipline. Ideological education is not all-powerful. Due to failure to strictly enforce party discipline, administrative rules of discipline, and state laws, certain problems that cannot be solved just by relying on ideological education have long remained unsolved. Some people have become incorrigible and some cases have even become increasingly serious. In light of this experience or lesson, we must supplement the conducting of ideological education with necessary means of discipline and with legal means. On the basis of the conducting of ideological education, we must enforce administrative rules of discipline where they are violated, enforce party discipline and CYL discipline where such discipline is defied, and enforce state laws where there are breaches. Only in this way can we give better play to the role of ideological education.

The fifth cause of weakness and lethargy in ideological and political work is that some party members and cadres have failed to properly play an exemplary role by setting personal examples. Due to interference and disruption by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and due to the existence of various unhealthy trends within the party, the image of the party among the masses of people has been seriously impaired. The reputation of ideological and political work has been tarnished. Mass confidence in the superiority of the socialist system and the bright future of communism has been weakened. This has brought great difficulties, as far as ideological and political work is concerned. Where the party style is seriously wrong, there must naturally be cadres who do not keep straight. What they say is not given credit by the masses. The results of ideological work are poor. Therefore, to raise the fighting power of ideological work, we must still educate cadres and party members in the need to rectify unhealthy trends and bring about a fundamental turn for the better in party style as quickly as possible.

**Establish and Perfect a Powerful Ideological Education Work System and Realistically Change the Weak State of Basic-Level Ideological Work**

We must strengthen the building of the propaganda departments of party committees at all levels. In restructuring organizations, we must staff the propaganda departments of party committees at all levels with proper groups and promote to leadership posts cadres really qualified to meet the requirements for "modernization." Meanwhile, we must consolidate the cadre forces of propaganda departments at all levels. Every district and every commune (village) must at least have a propaganda cadre. Where such a requirement has not been met, proper steps must be taken as quickly as possible.

The economic work leadership organs and the party organizations of various institutions and enterprises must respectively establish propaganda department, sections, and groups, or install specialized propaganda work cadres, depending on their size.



The leadership organs and basic-level units of the cultural, educational, scientific, technical, public health, and other systems must also consolidate and strengthen the forces of the political work departments or propaganda departments to meet the needs of strengthening ideological and political work.

For existing ideological and political work cadres, we must do a good job of readjustment and training in a planned manner. Those who cannot maintain political unity with the CPC Central Committee and who have serious problems of ideological style must be transferred away from political work posts. Those comrades who have a low cultural standard and a low capacity for vocational work must be resolutely arranged for study classes or for other work. Every effort must be made to select a number of qualified people from among college graduates to man ideological and political work departments at all levels. Party schools at all levels must constantly launch reading classes or short-term training classes for ideological and political work cadres and pay close attention to on-the-job training of political work cadres.

We must strengthen the building of mass ideological and political work teams, with reporters, instructors, and propaganda personnel as their mainstay. Provinces, prefectures, counties, communes, and various institutions and enterprises must install reporters, with leading cadres at all levels filling the role, and enable them to head for communes (villages), brigades, factories, schools, shops, offices, and other basic-level units to give reports direct to the masses on a regular or irregular basis. Those that have not yet installed instructors and propaganda officials must universally strive to do so as quickly as possible. Propaganda departments of party committees at all levels must do a good job of managing and guiding reporters, instructors, and propaganda personnel, regularly arrange tasks for them, provide them with propaganda and study materials, introduce necessary systems of rewards and penalties, and help them do propaganda work well.

We must strengthen the building of propaganda and cultural facilities. We must resolve to allocate necessary financial and material resources in order to quickly change the backward state marked by the obsolescence of propaganda and cultural facilities, the serious shortage of required funds and grounds, and so forth. We must first improve the broadcasting, television, and publishing facilities and the cultural undertakings of mountainous areas that are of the greatest concern to the masses. We must strive to meet by 1985 the target of a library and a cultural bureau for every county, a cultural station for every village, and the availability of broadcasts for every household, and further improve the study and cultural facilities for the masses of people.

To change the weak state of basic-level ideological and political work, we must still strengthen the building of basic-level party and CYL organizations and give full play to their role as militant bastions and pacesetting models. Experience shows that many good patterns for ideological work and propaganda work geared to new conditions which have not appeared, such as the building of civilized villages and teams and civilized units, the establishment of young militiamen's homes and households entrusted to party members care, respect for village customs

and traditional practices, the establishment of five-good households, the revitalize-the-country reading campaign, and so forth can hardly be consolidated and fully developed in their proper roles if we lack the support of basic-level party and CYL organizations and the support of the backbone forces of party and CYL members. Therefore, before the start of an overall party rectification at the grassroots levels, all areas and units should, in line with the fundamental spirit of the "CPC Central Committee's Decision on Party Rectification," realistically do a good job of the regular business of building basic-level party organizations, solve prominent problems, consolidate leading groups, put on a solid basis organizational life and the educational system for party members, tighten party discipline, correct unhealthy trends, and organize and lead party members in properly handling ideological education work among the masses. In keeping with this spirit, CYL organizations should also do a good job of the regular business of building basic-level party branches and make greater contributions to unifying and educating the masses of young people.

#### Strengthen Leadership Over Theoretical, Literary, Art, and Journalistic Work and Give Full Play to Its Major Role in Ideological Education

Because work in theoretical, literary, art, and journalistic fields has a great impact on the work and thinking of people, we must put effort into properly handling work in these fields, whether considering the need for the strengthening work on the ideological front, or considering the need for preventing and resisting spiritual pollution by the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes.

The masses of theoretical, literary, art, and journalistic workers, and the leadership cadres of the relevant departments in particular, must seriously study the "CPC Central Committee's Decision on Party Rectification" and important speeches given by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, penetratingly study the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," link reality with a review and a summation of experiences and lessons in their own work, do away with the influence of bourgeois liberalization and various other erroneous ideas, further straighten out guiding ideas, better uphold fundamental Marxist principles and the guideline of linking theory with reality, uphold the direction of making literature and art serve the people and serve socialism, and uphold the principle of party spirit in journalistic work. In restructuring organs, we must, in line with the demands of the modernization of cadres, readjust and strengthen the leading groups of these units and resolutely weed out the "three types of people." Meanwhile, we must consolidate and perfect party organizations, and give full play to the role of basic-level party organizations as militant bastions in these units. The editorial departments of various journals and periodicals on theory and literature and art must also seriously seek their own consolidation, and strengthen the leadership of the party committee over their work. While trying to do a good job of ideological consolidation and organizational consolidation, we must also strengthen regular ideological and political work, perfect the organizational life of the whole party, unfold criticism and self-criticism, enliven the activity of literary and art criticism and academic discussion, overcome the state of laxity and weakness in regard to ideological leadership, seriously correct various unhealthy trends, carry forward the revolutionary tradition of keeping in touch with the masses, getting deeply involved with life and fighting amidst hardships, and really establish red and expert militant teams on the fronts of theoretical, literary, art, and journalistic work.

To strengthen leadership over work in theoretical, literary, artistic, and journalistic fields, party committees at all levels must constantly ascertain and study conditions and trends in these fields. They must regularly discuss work in these fields and provide concrete guidance. They must strengthen systems for controlling and checking newspapers, journals, books, films, television shows, stage plays, pictorials, audio tapes, and videotapes, keep a strict watch on things, and stop the spread and pollution of all erroneous ideas.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Workers, peasants, businessmen, students, soldiers, government, and the party must all strengthen political and ideological work." Under the unified leadership of the party committee, cultural, educational, economic, political, legal, and other departments, trade unions, CYL setups, militia organizations, women's associations, and other public organizations must act in coordination and join forces in doing a good job of ideological and political work.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### QINGHAI MEETING OF PREFECTURE, COUNTY HEADS

HK140619 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Nov 83

[Summary] A Qinghai provincial conference of heads of autonomous prefectures and counties concluded yesterday after 11 days in session. Guided by Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech during his visit to Qinghai, the meeting concentrated on studying how to prepare for the large-scale development of the province. Governor Huang Jingbo delivered a report on making preparations for the large-scale development of the province. Zhang Guosheng, chairman of the provincial advisory committee, spoke on eliminating spiritual pollution.

The participants listed the following eight points regarding the preparatory work for Qinghai's development: 1) Draw up development plans in light of local conditions and realities; 2) do a good job in surveying resources and providing schemes for projects; 3) vigorously develop agriculture and animal husbandry; 4) step up support for key projects and develop local energy and communications construction; 5) improve their quality and economic results of the existing enterprises; 6) open up more revenue sources for accumulating capital; 7) actively import and utilize foreign investment and develop foreign trade; 8) work hard to train talented people and tap brainpower resources.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Zhao Haifeng spoke at the close of the meeting. He stressed: "In the future all the province's economic work must be centered on preparing for the large-scale development of Qinghai. To do a good job in this respect, we must summon up the resolve of the foolish old man. The cadres at all levels, especially the leading cadres, must have an excellent mental state and work style, a high sense of the cause, and the pioneering spirit."

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### QINGHAI HOLDS IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK FORUM

HK151254 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Nov 83

[Text] The provincial conference on ideological and political work for workers put forward: Strengthening party leadership and creating a new situation in ideological and political work for workers in enterprises is an important guarantee for promoting the smooth development of economic construction in our province and for achieving the objective of struggle put forth by the 12th Party Congress.

This conference on ideological and political work for workers lasted 6 days and concluded in Xining on 12 November. At the conference, the representatives seriously studied the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and the important speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun and conveyed and studied the spirit of the national conference on ideological and political work for workers and the tentative program for ideological and political work for workers in state-run enterprises.

The conference reviewed the state of ideological and political work for workers in our province since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, exchanged experiences in ideological and political work for workers in enterprises, and in light of the realities of our province, penetratingly discussed the issues of how to implement the spirit and program of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and how to strive to create a new situation in ideological and political work for workers in enterprises.

Huanjuecailang, deputy secretary of the provincial CPC committee, and (Zhang Guosheng), chairman of the provincial advisory committee, attended the conference and spoke.

Huanjuecailang pointed out: It is necessary to correctly understand the current situation in the ideological front, bravely take a clear-cut stand, and stand in the forefront of eliminating spiritual pollution. It is essential to firmly grasp ideological and political education, to strengthen the working class sense of being the master of its affairs, to overcome the state of weakness and laxity, and to strengthen party leadership over ideological and political work for workers.



On the afternoon of 12 November, (Zhang Shengchun), director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, made a summing-up speech. He demanded: After the conference, all departments in charge of industry and the party organizations of factories, mines, and enterprises must do well in grasping the following four work tasks:

1. It is necessary to seriously study the decision on party rectification adopted by the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the important speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and other documents specified by the central party rectification guidance commission.
2. It is essential to step up confiscation and disposal of articles which disseminate spiritual pollution.
3. To strengthen education for workers, in accordance with the provisions in the tentative program for ideological and political work for workers in state-run enterprises, we must do well in grasping systematic education.
4. It is imperative to vigorously carry out workers' spare-time healthy, useful, and lively cultural and physical cultural activities and to close the channels for spiritual pollution.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### GANSU MEETING URGES IMPROVED RURAL CULTURE

HK140617 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Nov 83

[Excerpt] The propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee held a forum on rural cultural work in Lanzhou from 8 to 12 November, to sum up and exchange information on the state of the rural ideological front and experiences in rural cultural work, and study specific ways of sending culture to the rural areas, enlivening rural life there, resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution, and occupying the rural ideological and cultural position with socialist ideology and culture.

The meeting analyzed the situation in the province's rural cultural work, and unanimously held: Mass cultural work has revived and developed to a certain extent in recent years. However, there are still very few cultural facilities in rural Gansu. In particular, rural cultural life is even poorer in remote mountainous regions and minority-nationality areas. Some places cannot even receive broadcasts or see newspapers, publications, theatrical works, and films. Feudal superstitious activities are rampant in some places. The corruption of feudal and capitalist ideology is rather serious. Therefore, to send culture to the rural areas, enliven rural cultural life, occupy the rural ideological and cultural position with socialist ideology and culture, and resist and eliminate spiritual pollution constitute an urgent task at present.

The meeting discussed and made arrangements for specific measures for sending culture to the rural areas. It demanded that culture, leaders, contingents, and activities all go down to the rural areas. Not only cultural departments should center their work on the rural areas; broadcasting, television, physical culture, education, public health, science and technology, and post and telecommunications departments should also face the rural areas and the grassroots and seriously grasp their work at normal times, and particularly so during festivals.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### GANSU RADIO VIEWS PROBLEMS IN EDUCATION

HK120141 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Nov 83

[Station commentary: "Correct the Guiding Principle for Running General Education"]

[Excerpts] The 12th Party Congress explicitly pointed out: Education is one of our strategic focal points in building the four modernizations. General education is the foundation of this strategic focal point.

At present Gansu has achieved notable successes in general education work. However, there are aspects in the guiding principles for running schools that are not sufficiently explicit and correct. There are varying degrees of blindness that do not meet the needs of construction, or violate the laws of education. This blindness is expressed as follows: Certain teaching plans, curriculum arrangements, and teaching contents basically serve the effort to make people go on to higher education and sit the university entrance examination, and neglect the important task of forging a fine reserve labor force for the four modernizations. The structure of secondary education is basically that of nothing but ordinary secondary schools. Technical education for workers is on a very small scale. Quite a number of places and schools one-sidedly seek a high percentage of students going on to higher education. They only pay attention to examination marks, and neglect moral and physical education. They have reduced or abolished the necessary labor education. Some schools only concentrate on crack classes and students with good prospects of going on to university, and have abandoned cultivation and education of the great majority of students.

In order to change this state of affairs, the party and government departments and the education departments must summon up great resolve and make great efforts to reform general education and implement the principle of all-round moral, academic, and physical development. They must correct the trend of one-sided pursuit of a high percentage of students going on to higher education, and do a sound job in improving the quality of education for everyone. They must speed up the reform of secondary education in the urban and rural areas.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHANXI EDUCATION OFFICIAL DISCUSSES SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

HK140924 Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Nov 83

[Summary from poor reception] (Ma Xiaolin), a reporter of this station, recently asked a few questions about resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution among youths, in an interview with (Dai Xinnian), deputy director of the provincial educational department, who was attending a provincial meeting to exchange experience in giving political lectures in middle schools. The meeting was held in Taiyuan and held a special discussion on these questions.

In response to a question on the situation of spiritual pollution among middle school students, (Dai) said that it is mainly in the minds of the students, for example, thoughts of individualism, reluctance to take part in collective activities, and the pursuance of personal careers. This kind of spiritual pollution is very harmful.

When they asked what actions had been planned to counter this situation, (Dai) replied that, first of all, the relevant people had to conscientiously study Deng Xiaoping's works and then ideological and political education among the students had to be strengthened. They had also to satisfactorily organize the extracurriculum activities of the students and pay attention to imbuing these activities with ideological education.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHAANXI CYL HOLDS MEETING ON SPIRITUAL POLLUTION

HK171334 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, the provincial CYL committee held a report meeting in the hall of the provincial CPC committee's organs on eliminating and resisting spiritual pollution. The meeting called on all CYL members throughout the province to give play to their vanguard and exemplary role in the struggle to resist and eliminate spiritual pollution.

(Mao Songtian), director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, made a report at the meeting on eliminating spiritual pollution. After explaining the current main expressions of spiritual pollution, its seriousness and harm, and the importance and urgency of eliminating it, he emphatically pointed out: To do well in the struggle to eliminate spiritual pollution, 1) it is necessary to study seriously and well the spirit of the second plenary session of the CPC Central Committee and the important speeches of Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun and to act strictly in accordance with the principles and policies of the central authorities; 2) it is essential to carry forward the Marxist revolutionary style of criticism, to thoroughly refute the serious incorrect viewpoints which are involved in theory and principle, to really establish the guiding and dominant role of Marxism on the ideological front, and to organize a large-scale Marxist theoretic force in the struggle in order to enhance the Marxist theoretic level; 3) leading comrades at all levels must take the lead in resisting and eliminating spiritual pollution and must really put all aspects of work on the ideological and theoretic fronts under the powerful leadership of the party; 4) it is imperative to seriously implement relevant principles and policies, to establish necessary regulations and systems, to resist and prevent spiritual pollution; and 5) we must really strengthen regular ideological and political work, must persist in a long-term struggle, and must thoroughly solve the problem of spiritual pollution. In his report, he answered some questions posed by some comrades on the policy.

Attending the report meeting included full time CYL cadres of all committees, offices, departments, and bureaus at the provincial level, all universities and colleges, and all fronts in Xian City, totaling over 1,000 people.

CSO: 4005/162



## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHAANXI CPC CONSULTS NON-PARTY GROUPS ON RECTIFICATION

HK170843 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 15 Nov 83

[Text] From 12 to 14 November, the Shaanxi Provincial CPC Committee held a forum for non-party personages to convey the spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and to solicit their opinions with regard to the tentative plan for carrying out party rectification throughout the province.

Those who attended the forum were personages of democratic parties, non-party personages, and responsible persons of mass organizations. Li Xipu, secretary of the provincial CPC committee, conveyed to friends outside the party the essential spirit of the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee and briefed them on the tentative plan for carrying out party rectification throughout the province. Wu Qingyun, a member of the provincial CPC committee Standing Committee and head of the united front work department, communicated important speeches made by Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun at the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee.

According to the tentative plan made by the provincial CPC committee, from this winter, party rectification will start first in party organizations of the provincial CPC committee and of offices at the provincial level. And from the second half of next year, it will be carried out by stages and in groups in party branches at the prefectural, city, county, district, commune, and township levels. It is hoped that it will be accomplished within 3 years.

Li Xipu said: The plan will soon be submitted for discussion to the second plenary meeting of the Sixth Provincial CPC Committee. But we would first like to heed opinions from our friends. Consulting non-party comrades is a fine tradition of our party and a successful way to party rectification. I hope all of you will say all you know and say it without reserve to give us a helping hand in party rectification in the spirit of showing utter devotion to each other and sharing weal and woe.

Those who also spoke at the discussion meeting were (Tan Weixi), chairman of the provincial revolutionary committee of the Chinese KMT; and vice chairman (Hu Jingfen); (Yan Zhenting), (Hu Jingru), (Zhang Jianxiao), and (Shen Zhenwu), vice chairmen of the provincial China Democratic League; (Shen Shangxian), vice chairman of the provincial Central Committee of the Jiusan Society;

(Zhang Tingbi), a member of the provincial China Democratic National Construction Association Standing Committee; (Hua Qi), vice chairman of the Xian city branch of the Chinese Peasants and Workers Democratic Party; (Feng Lingwei) and (Zheng Youguo), members of the national CPPCC; (Hong Tao), vice chairman of the provincial Taiwan Compatriots Friendship Association; (Ma Liangji), a member of the provincial people's congress Standing Committee; and (Xu Ligong), a member of the provincial CPPCC. All speakers expressed resolute support of the CPC Central Committee's decision on carrying out party rectification and of the important speeches by Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun. They said in one voice that the central decision on carrying out party rectification and clearing away spiritual pollution enjoyed immense popular support and fell in with the people's wishes, and they believed that the CPC would be sure of success in its rectification.

(Tan Weixi) said: I am rather disturbed by the unhealthy tendencies in the party's style which ensued after the 10 years of internal disorder. Now, the CPC has decided to fulfill rectification within 3 years. This shows that the party is incomparably powerful and assures us that our country and nation will surely prosper. I feel delighted and encouraged by this. (Yan Zhenting), (Hu Jingfen), and (Shen Shangxian) said: The party is now fully consulting non-party personages. This demonstrates the sincerity of the communist party in working together with democratic parties. The communist party is progressing and the people are advancing. So we democratic parties too must forge ahead together with the communist party. They expressed the determination that they would conscientiously study documents concerning party rectification, awaken understanding, and state their views to help the communist party carry out its rectification so as to effect a fundamental turn for the better in the party's work style.

The participants in the discussion meeting also expressed their opinions on the tentative plan of the provincial CPC committee for party rectification. They were of the same view that the plan was in conformity with the spirit of the CPC Central Committee's decision on party rectification and the actual situation in our province, they also made some constructive suggestions about the plan.

Finally, Comrade Li Xipu expressed thanks to all participants in the meeting on behalf of the provincial CPC committee. He said that the CPC will keep in touch with all democratic parties on the development of party rectification and hoped that they will continue to put forward suggestions.

CSO: 4005/162

## NORTHWEST REGION

### XINJIANG MASS MEDIA USING MINORITY LANGUAGES

OW160802 Beijing XINHUA in English 065 [as printed] GMT 16 Nov 83

[Text] Urumqi, 16 Nov (XINHUA)--Minority nationalities in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are benefiting more from the media as more is published and broadcast in their own languages.

Sources at the Xinjiang People's Publishing House say that, of 4.5 million publications in the first nine months of this year, about half are in languages of minority nationalities.

Publications in Uygur alone reach more than 1.4 million, twice the figure for the same period last year.

The autonomous region now has nine publishing houses using minority languages, with more than 10 publications having won national and regional prizes.

Meanwhile efforts have been made to collect, collate and publish ancient manuscripts. Recently 4,250 manuscripts and historical documents in Uygur, Kazak, Mongolian, Tibetan, Persian and Arabic have been collected and classified, covering history, economy, philosophy, art, literature, medicine, architecture, geology and astronomy.

Two monumental 11th century works in ancient Uygur, "Great Turkic Dictionary" and "Good Fortune, Happiness and Wisdom," a book about the Uygur nationality's philosophy and culture, have come out in modern Uygur. Translation and research on ancient epics, literature and historical records in other minority languages are under way.

Radio and television are also gaining ground in the autonomous region. Last month, a radio relay station was set up in Artux, capital of the Kizilsu Kirgiz Autonomous Prefecture in western Xinjiang.

The Xinjiang People's Radio Station began to broadcast programs in Kirgiz last year. At present Kirgiz in more than 30 counties can hear their mother tongue on the air.

As of last month the autonomous region had 125 television relay stations. More than 40 per cent of the population and about 70 per cent of the region's cities, towns and counties in the region are within the range of television broadcast.

Sources at the Xinjiang television station said the station last year opened a special Uyghur channel. Apart from news and entertainments, college educational programs in both Uyghur and Chinese, on mechanics, electronics and economic management, are drawing a daily audience of 15,000.

The station's broadcasting time has been increased to 11 hours a day from the previous three hours, and 1,200 people in the region now work in television, more than 60 times the figure in 1970.

Seventy-two more television relay stations are being built to cover the autonomous region, which makes up one-sixth of the country's territory.

CSO: 4005/162

SELF-STUDY OF GRAVITY-FEED ROCKETS RECOUNTED

Beijing ZIXUE [SELF-STUDY] in Chinese No 4, 1983 pp 39-41

[Article by Rao Yunrui [7457 0061 3843]: "What I Went Through in My Pursuit of Gravity-Feed Rocket Research"]

[Text]

[Box] Introducing the Designer of Gravity-feed Rockets

After a long independent exploration, Comrade Rao Yunrui [7457 0061 3843] proposed his bold idea of gravity-feed rockets. Based on his first paper "Gravity-feed Rockets I" and many experts' opinion, Rao wrote his second paper "Gravity-feed Rockets II" which gave further theoretical analysis of the gravity-feed principle and design and strengthened the scientific basis for the entire proposal. We applaud Comrade Rao's spirit of investigation and innovation. We believe the "gravity-feed rocket" idea has sufficient scientific basis on the following points:

1. The idea of gravity-feeding a rocket based on the conversion of fuel chemical energy and liquid vapor potential energy is in principal feasible. (As evidenced by the mature technology of steam boilers).
2. The innovative design concept of applicator storage tank and switchable storage tank provided further feasibility for applying the gravity-feed principle to rocket technology. The switching process of an internal combustion engine can really serve as a reference here and the design should be verified experimentally.
3. The author has made further analysis of a most crucial aspect of the rocket engine--reliable cooling--and touched upon the major influencing factors.
4. As discussed in his preliminary analysis, the performance of gravity-feed rockets will undoubtedly be superior to other existing rockets if experiments verify the principle of gravity feed and tests show the rockets function as intended.



Rocket technology is a field that involves the application of many branches of science and technology. A new idea, even a reasonable idea, requires extensive theoretical and experimental study in the course of principle to actual application. Even though "Gravity-feed Rockets II" has made analysis in a number of areas, it clearly cannot touch upon all the details of this technology. The foremost task now is to obtain experimental verification of the principle, which requires preliminary simulation tests. It would be a very significant work.

We, therefore, suggest the author seek scientific funding from the Foundation Committee of the Chinese Academy of Sciences (or other units that can provide this support) for his design of gravity-feed rockets and conduct simulation tests for the principle. We wish him success.

Wan Junhua [8001 0193 5478] Associate Professor  
Mei Qizhi [2734 0366 1807] Instructor  
Department 2  
Harbin Ship Engineering College  
17 December, 1982, Harbin [End Box]

#### Foreword of "Gravity-feed Rockets II"

The gravity-feed rocket is a new concept in rocket technology proposed by the author after many years of study. The unique features are that the propellant flows spontaneously and the fuel storage tanks are switchable.

Since the fuel tanks can be switched, the specific thrust of the rocket is improved, the weight is decreased and a single stage rocket can launch an intercontinental guided missile or an artificial earth satellite. This implies that space vehicles powered by gravity-feed rockets do not require solid-fuel rocket boosters.

Gravity feeding of the propellant eliminates the turbine pump, a major rocket component that has been most difficult in design and manufacture. Huge economic benefits can be derived from this simplification and the development and design cost of the new gravity feed rocket is only one-tenth that of a conventional rocket.

Because the concept of the gravity-feed rocket is so significant, I have received many comments and much assistance since the initial paper was published in 1979. For example, China Aeronautics Society, Beijing Aeronautical Engineering College and Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College have all expressed opinions on this subject. In 1980, the Heilongjiang Provincial Office of Defense Industry organized professors of Harbin Industrial University and Harbin Ship Engineering College to evaluate my work. In 1981, it was further submitted to the First Research Institute of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building for evaluation. The consensus was that the theory and principle of gravity-feed rocket are viable, the performance is superior and the cost is low. But there are also two shortcomings: 1) the working pressure is low and the

specific thrust is not first rate: 2) the fuel flows into the cooling jacket by means of the liquid column height and there is not enough pressure difference. I, therefore, wrote the present paper "Gravity-feed rocket II" to correct these flaws.

In the second paper I deleted the following three chapters in the first paper: "Overall Comparisons," "Comprehensive Comparison with American Rockets" and "Proposed Testing" and added three new chapters: "Supercritical Heat Exchange," "Applicator Storage Tank" and "Entering Orbit with a One Stage Rocket." The total number of chapters remained at 10. These changes were made because, after the pressure was increased, a good portion of the fuel could only exchange heat under supercritical pressure, natural circulation must be replaced by forced circulation and an applicator storage tank was used. Since these changes affected the application of gravity-feed rockets, the entire contents of the first paper had to be modified to some extent.

The difference of Part II from Part I is that, with increased operating pressure, the specific thrust of gravity-feed rockets has reached the upper limit of domestic and foreign rockets and gravity-feed rockets have outperformed conventional rockets in every category of specification such as specific thrust, weight, speed and cost.

For the good results of Part II, I first thank the two deputy directors of the First Research Institute of the Ministry of Space Industry, the two deputy station directors of the Station 101, and Professors Fan Baizhang [5400 4102 3864], Mei Qizhi [2734 0366 1807], Fan Junhua [5400 0193 5478] and Fei Kai [6316 7030] of Harbin Industrial University, Harbin Ship Engineering College and Nanjing Aeronautical Engineering College, they pointed the direction for the work in Part II. I am also grateful to the comrades in Room 11 of the Ministry of Space Industry Station 101, they provided comments on the specific structure and problem of Part II.

I sincerely hope that comrades reading Part II would express their valuable opinion so that gravity-feed rockets may flourish in China and contribute to the four modernizations. [End of Foreword]

In the early 1960's I was persecuted by the extreme leftists and forced away from my rocket specialty. I determined then to develop a "Chinese rocket" that would be simple in structure and superior in performance. But, in the 20 years that followed, I walked an extremely treacherous and roundabout road toward realizing my goal.

As we all know, rocket technology has had a 40-year history and gone through great changes in many aspects. But no matter what changes it went through, it still contains a fuel-delivery system that is complex and hard to make. If we wish to change the rocket structure, we must change this delivery system and begin with the principles of fuel flow.

My original idea was, therefore, using a physical heat-storage method of produce a gravity-feed jet of the working substance and generate thrust. I called such rockets without a fuel-delivery system "gravity-feed rockets."

But rockets of this kind do not have enough energy and I devoted all my effort to the study of energy improvement. I found that the phase change temperature of a material depended on molecular cohesion, and adhesion depended on the environment of the material. For water, the boiling point is normally 100°C; but water in a high-pressure rocket storage tank in the presence of a  $E = 10^7$ -volt-strong electric field, water can be heated to 860°C and produce great thrust. But unfortunately such a strong electric field cannot yet be produced and, even if it did exist, water would break down and the thrust produced would still be less than that of existing rockets. I spent 4 years and failed to obtain any results.

In 1966 when the Cultural Revolution began, I was condemned as a "San Fan" member, booted out of the Communist Party and became a target for dictatorship. "Black party member," "stinky number nine," and "big good-for-nothing" became my aliases and insults and scorn were part of my everyday life. But I was not defeated. I was convinced that members of the Chinese Communist Party were proud people and China's "stinky number nine" were people with talents. I decided to fight it out. When they criticized me for 2 hours during the day, I would study 4 hours at night. When they made me take the night shift, I would go to the library during the day. Learning from previous failures, I combined the "physical energy" and the "chemical energy" of the fuel and opened up a brand new area where fuel was gravity-fed and combustion energy was increased and structure was simplified. But when I investigated further, a horrible thought dawned on me: combustion takes two kinds of fuel and, when they are gravity fed, the decreases in pressure and temperature cannot stay in step and the ratio of the two fuels cannot be kept constant and combustion would become unstable. This insurmountable difficulty was my second failure.

In 1969, I was delivering hot water in the shop and dealt with boilers all day long. Listening to the sound of the steam whistle all day, my ears became a sensitive device and I could tell the water temperature from the sound of the steam. When I poured the boiling water, I sometimes noticed that the water temperature did not decrease. This physical phenomenon got me thinking and I finally figured out the intrinsic relationship between heat and flow. This relation has now become an important component of the gravity-feed theory and led me to a solution for stable combustion. I patiently studied for 5 years, laid out a detailed and comprehensive structure and flow diagram for the gravity-feed rocket, calculated different data and planned the Chinese-style rocket.

Full of patriotic enthusiasm, I went to the Ministry of Space Industry in Beijing in 1974 and brought along all my research data. I thought that they would welcome me, but being a "target for dictatorship" and without a letter of reference, I was not even allowed into the building and I had to ask someone to forward my data. The evaluation result was "of no practical value." Their opinion was that heating the fuel externally would require a huge ground facility and it would be uneconomical as well as unsafe, and it would take too long to launch a rocket. My work had suffered its third failure.

Although the conclusion of the Ministry of Space Industry was too harsh, I was not discouraged. I worked even harder to improve the design. I studied alone in search of a solution and, using the natural convection method in boiler technology, I finally found a way to solve the problem. I rearranged the flow pattern in a gravity-feed rocket and eliminated the shortcomings of external heating. I showed up at the Ministry of Space Industry again in 1976. At that time, the ministry was in disarray and their attitude toward the gravity-feed rocket was even more hostile. On the one hand, they stressed that no accommodations could be arranged for me without a letter of reference--which forced me to spend the nights at the railroad station--and, on the other hand, they claimed that the weight of the gravity-feed rocket exceeded that of existing rockets and rejected the whole proposal offhand. I immediately countered that, according to my calculations, the weight would not be greater than that of other rockets. But they said: "you did your calculations alone, we have dozens of people doing the calculation; your calculations were done by hand, ours were done by computers. It is quite clear as to who is right." I was dumfounded. After spending several cold nights in the railroad station, I fell ill and my temperature went up to 39°C and I almost did not make it back to Harbin. That was my fourth and worst failure. Even my children said to me: "Dad, stop working on those rockets! Research has made you old and the family poor, and you are losing your health without getting anywhere. Even if you did work out something, the state would not use someone like you."

"No!" I said to them, "My research will produce results and the state will use me. At your age you don't understand me and you don't understand the party. I have been a party member ever since I was a student and the Communist Party then was not like the Communist Party now. The darkness will end eventually." Sure enough, the dark night ended, the "gang of four" was ousted and the party survived. Rapidly changing prospects and resolutions of the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee swept the land like a spring breeze. I was restless and had only one thing on my mind: reduce the weight of the gravity-feed rocket. I came up with one plan after another and scrubbed them all. Finally, based on the principle of the internal combustion engine, I found an innovative method which reduced the weight of the gravity-feed rocket by more than one-third. In 1979, I imposed on my family to do without and squeezed out 200 yuan to print the paper "Gravity-feed Rocket, Part I." I sent the paper to various responsible units and received favorable comments.

In 1981 I went to the Ministry of Space Industry for the third time. By then the ministry had returned to normal, the leader of the First Research Institute received me in person and assigned two chief design engineers to study the case who later made written conclusions. The two design engineers talked to me cordially: "The theory and principle of the gravity-feed rocket are feasible and the advantages are obvious. But the pressure and specific thrust are still quite a bit less than the highest world standard."

To which I replied: "I understand what you are saying and I plan to go back to Harbin and work some more. I will do my best not to disappoint you two." One could call this encounter a success because the theory and advantages of gravity-feed rockets were recognized, and one could also call it a failure because there were still inadequacies.

By that time the Harbin Municipal Party Committee had already rehabilitated me and restored my party membership. I was liberated politically and was treated as I was before the Cultural Revolution. This gave me further impetus for research. Like a long-distance runner, I was on the last stretch. In less than 1 year, I made use of the principle of steam engines and proposed the idea of an applicator storage tank and doubled the pressure of a gravity-feed rocket and made the specific thrust better than the best record. In September 1982 I published "Gravity-feed Rocket, Part II." By then the specifications of the gravity-feed rocket have surpassed any domestic or foreign rocket in terms of structure, production, cost, weight, speed, pressure and specific thrust.

Today, the paper "Gravity-feed Rocket, Part II" has received praise and support from various quarters. The First Research Institute of the Ministry of Space Industry is currently investigating the handling problem and the two professors of the Harbin Ship Engineering College have fully confirmed the theory. My 20 years of effort have produced results. But I should not have the least bit of self-complacency because my ideas would not have turned into reality without the correct line set by the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the assistance and guidance of various people. Moreover, what I have accomplished is only a theory and a postulate, everything still awaits experimental verification. If I have scaled a high peak in my theoretical work, then there are even higher peaks waiting for me in the future experimental work.

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